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Watershed in arms control: now for the future

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The signing of the INF treaty on the worldwide elimination of medium-range missiles is a watershed in the field of arms control policy.

Reagan and Gorbachov have achieved a breakthrough. For the first time since the advent of the nuclear age agreement has been reached to reduce the world's arsenal of nuclear weapons.

The treaty, however, only relates to weapon systems which the two superpowers do not need to defend their own national terrritories.

The Soviet Union is more than relieved about the negotiated removal of the US Pershing-2 missiles deployed in Western Europe, above all, in Federal Republic of Germany, which have played a major role in the deterrence strategy.

In comparison with the means of preventing violations in previous arms control agreements the inspection provisions in the INF treaty are sensational.

Both sides will be allowed to inspect military installations which have up to now ranked as jealously guarded secrets.

The trust this creates is bound to have a positive impact on future arms control negotiations.

If everything goes off according to plan the Soviet obsession with safeguarding its own security, a fear of the outside world reflected in a strategy of overkill, will be diminished.

The two superpowers are now faced by their real task: to cut their arsenals of strategic long-range missiles and at the same time ensure balanced security at a lower level of armament.

President Reagan and General-Secretary Gorbachov would like to see negotiations on the Start agreement on a 50 per cent reduction in ground-, sea- and air-launched intercontinental weapons concluded as soon as possible.

As in Reykjavik, Gorbachov called for the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the turn of the century.

He has come to terms with the fact that America will continue its research on the development of a space-based defence system, albeit within the framework of the ABM Treaty — at present, the only internationally binding arms limitation agreement between Washington and Moscow.

Both sides know that the elimination of what the Soviet Union regards as the symbol of its world power status — the primarily land-based intercontinental missiles — will only be possible if a balance of conventional forces in Europe is also sought.

Both sides also know that a deep chasm of prejudices, strategic doctrines and mistrust still lies between the pleasant-sounding and enthusiastic declarations of the third summit meeting and the disarmament steps yet to be taken.

Above all, they are aware of the fact that the control and inspection of the elimination of strategic long-range missiles will be particularly difficult.

Arms control cannot remain the fulcrum and virtually exclusive content of East-West relations.

The Washington summit put an end to the brand of detente policy pursued since the beginning of the 1970s.

Only time will tell whether greater East-West rapprochement will now also occur in other fields, such as human rights, freedom of travel and satisfying the most urgent needs of Third World countries.

The Soviet Union could make more than a symbolic gesture in this respect by withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan.

In Europe, however, the continuation of the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional forces "from the Atlantic to the Urals" will become the priority task.

President Reagan, whose final term of office is drawing to a close, and the younger Soviet leader Gorbachov, who is bent on a course of reform, gave mutual assurances in Washington that the INF treaty is just a first step.

It's a good thing that the two leaders are realists, since the relationship between the two superpowers will remain antagonistic as long as the Soviet Union refuses to abandon its long-term objectives. Gorbachov failed to mention this aspect in Washington.

The Washington summit may help free the relationship between Washington and Moscow from the periodic fluctuation "between paranoia and euphoria" which so often irritated former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Perhaps a process of true normalisation will now begin on the basis of a sober assessment of national interests.

The summit outcome should prompt Europe to become aware of its own role.

In the long run effective defence will mean preventing the risks which the trailblazing INF treaty seeks to avert.

Nothing would be more inappropriate than for Europeans to congratulate themselves on being the intellectual progenitors of what was achieved in Washington.

Although the vital bond with America should not be severed Western Europe should do more to establish a framework of independent European security.

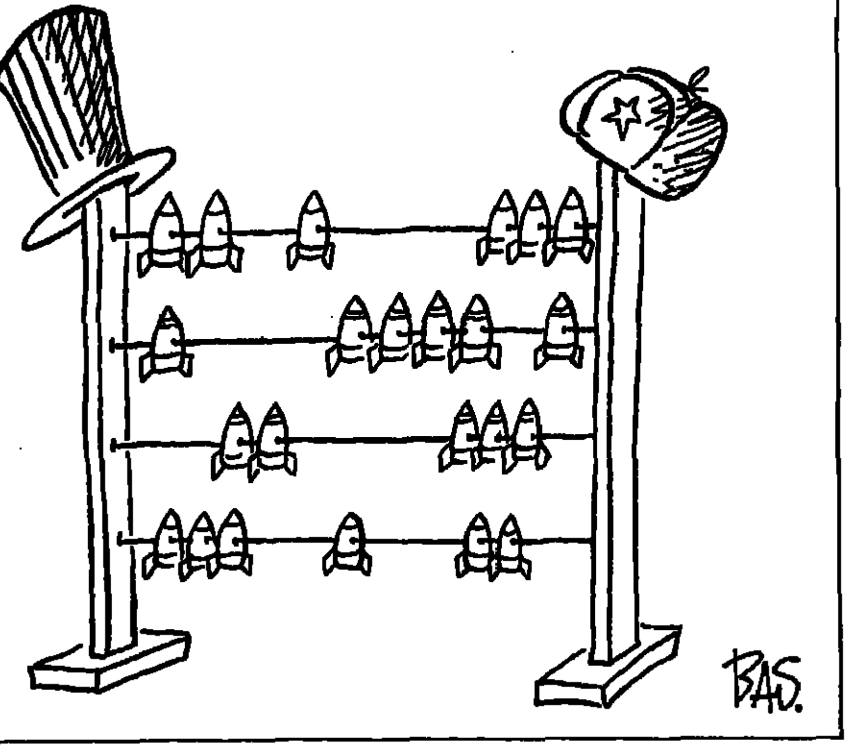
Europe must step up its significance so as to be able to influence developments between the two superpowers.

The summit euphoria will soon give way to post-summit sobriety, since years will pass before INF treaty provisions are effected.

Europeans should not then start complaining about a new "condominium", but establish their own place in the sun instead of merely responding to what happens in Washington or Moscow.

Otherwise, they will find themselves defencelessly exposed to a "Common House of Europe" offensive, which Gorbachov will now undoubtedly seek to foster.

Jan Reifenberg
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 December 1987)



(Cartoon: Mitropoulos/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

IN THIS ISSUE

The next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 3 January

Acid test for disarmament still to come

Lübecker Nachrichten

The Bonn government views the agreement between the two superpowers to scrap their medium-range nuclear missiles as a turning-point in East-West relations.

This was emphasised by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in a government statement. He said that the Germans, as the people most threatened by the arms race, want more not less disarmament.

Doubts were previously expressed about this after Bonn hesitated to relinquish the Pershing-1 missiles, whose nuclear warheads belong to the USA.

More on treaty: pages 2 and 3.

Washington, however, dismissed the reservations of their German allies by referring to the remaining air- and sea-based nuclear potential.

Kohl replied that the only nuclear weapons left would have a range of less than 500 kilometres and that these would land on German soil only in a wartime situation.

So the logical conclusion politicians from all parties seemed to draw, therefore, was that the next step would have to be to scrap these missiles too.

By this stage at the very latest, however, the other partners in the Alliance expressed their misgivings.

The question was then raised of when

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Differing views in Brussels on the treaty

Frankfurter Rundschau

There are still plenty of uncertainties following what was perhaps prematurely described as the "historic" Washington summit meeting between the superpowers.

It is by no means certain whether the signing of the INF treaty on the elimination of ground-launched medium-range missiles will lead to further disarmament.

The differing views surfaced during a meeting of the Nato council of foreign ministers in Brussels, during which US Secretary of State George Shultz told his colleagues about the summit's outcome.

The conservative government in France has domestic policy reasons for disliking the whole direction in which disarmament policy is moving.

As the socialist president Francois Mitterrand steered a "pro-Atlantic" course and also finally approved of the double zero solution during his presidential term Prime Minister Jacques Chirac wants to promote an image as the custodian of Gaullist values for the presidential election in May.

The French Foreign Minister Raymond went to Brussels with the mandate neither to unreservedly sanction the INF treaty nor the insistence of the other Alliance partners to establish a balance of conventional forces in negotiations between the two military blocs "between the Atlantic and the Urals". Even though the other Nato partners were generally pleased about the INF treaty a basis must be found for answers to other questions which may now arise.

How should Nato respond to a proposal, expected by some and feared by others, by Soviet leader Gorbachov to scrap the nuclear short-range missiles belonging to the two military blocs too?

Are these missiles indispensable from Nato's point of view as long as the Soviet superiority in the field of conventional forces remains?

How can the East-West negotiations between the two alliances be designed so as to prevent them from being constantly impaired by Paris?

What about the already planned modernisation of Nato's nuclear short-range missiles?

The uncertainty whether the US Senate will actually ratify the INF treaty hovers over all these questions.

The French misgivings are grist to the mill of the Washington "hawks".

Any unfortunate incident somewhere in the world involving the two superpowers would lend support to this camp.

The non-ratification of the treaty in Washington would probably force Gorbachov to make a fundamental change of course in Moscow.

It also seems doubtful if the Start agreement on halving strategic weapons will happen in Geneva while Reagan is in office.

Cool composure is needed if the disarmament process is to continue.

If the INF treaty is effected it will provide a significant yardstick.

For the first time ever exact figures, geographical information and technical details have been exchanged.

For the first time there are precisely defined provisions on on-site inspections of each other's military installations for over a decade.

There was unanimous agreement in Brussels that there would have been no basis for the deal if Nato had not deployed missiles in Europe.

Even a man such as Gorbachov may not, it was claimed, have seen any reason for the then unilateral elimination of Soviet medium-range missiles.

One top-ranking military official in general secretary Gorbachov's entourage even sounded discordant in Washington amidst the jubilation.

This did not annoy the Americans, since they are now primarily concerned about the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

For all Eastern and Western European countries, however, the more important question now is whether "miracles" can also be expected in the wide-ranging field of mutual non-nuclear disarmament.

The Soviet senior general Nikolai Tschervov made use of the Washington media stage to mar premature hopes.

Tschervov claimed that there is a western superiority in combat aircraft and helicopters which would have to be "negotiated away".

As this contradicts western figures and demarcation problems for such weapon systems are difficult, long negotiations can be expected here.

However, perhaps Tschervov wanted to above all disturb the forthcoming negotiations of Nato foreign ministers on the initial western proposal.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1987)

Few air-pockets on minister's flight-path to top Nato job

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner always had his sights set high.

As wing-commander in the reserve air force he completed over one thousand flight-hours in Bundeswehr jets.

Together with mountain riflemen he climbed up a mountain called Wörner in the Karwendel mountain range.

And now the man born on 24 September, 1934, in Stuttgart has reached the peak of his own personal career.

On 11 December the foreign ministers of the Nato council selected him as the seventh Nato secretary-general.

At first glance his political career seems to have moved in a straight line, without too many bumps along the way.

The graduated lawyer began his political career as a CDU state parliamentary adviser in Baden-Württenberg in 1962.

In 1965 he became a member of the Bundestag as representative of constituency 172 (Göppingen).

He specialised in defence policy and already became a top-level politician in the CDU/CSU parliamentary party in 1969.

He was presented for the first time as a possible defence minister by opposition leader Rainer Barzel in the CDU shadow cabinet before the 1972 general election.

When the SPD-FDP government led by Helmut Schmidt was toppled on 1 October, 1982, it was taken for granted that Wörner would take over at the helm of the Bonn Defence Ministry.

He had no trouble holding his post following the general election in 1983.

Following the general election in January 1987, however, it was not so clear whether Wörner would retain his portfolio in Chancellor Kohl's third cabinet.

There was plenty of premature praise for him as a defence policy specialist in 1982. He was reputed to love his work and passionately enjoy being a minister.

Today, however, it is clear that Wörner would like to move to Brussels.

It's not always been a success story for Wörner. He has suffered many serious setbacks.

He used to be an outward-going person who enjoyed having a good laugh; now he often seems aloof and rather arrogant.

The eighth Defence Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, who always emphatically supported a strong Alliance and Bundeswehr, soon realised that the limitations of his budget made it increasingly difficult to achieve his objectives.

There were also slip-ups along the way, many of which he caused himself.

Popular abroad . . . Defence Minister Wörner. (Photo: Werek)

The most serious crisis was in 1983/84 in connection with the premature sacking of the four-star general Günter Kiessling when it leaked out that he had justified the dismissal by referring to the general's alleged contacts with homosexuals.

He lost a lot of public sympathy and backing by the military and his own party because of the affair. He owes the fact that he was kept on as Defence Minister to Chancellor Kohl. Kiessling was reinstated.

The affair still sticks to Wörner and makes less serious slip-ups seem more serious than they are.

Wörner has always been one of the Chancellor's strongest supporters. Right from the start he vehemently defended the Nato twin-track decision and the deployment of medium-range missiles in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Points in his favour include measures to restructure the promotion system in the armed forces, the new regulation of the right of conscientious objection, and the role assigned by the Chancellor of maintaining a balance between the CDU position and the position of the FDP Foreign Minister within the framework of Bonn's security policy.

He was able to consolidate his position again after the Kiessling affair because he was and is a popular partner for talks abroad.

Together with the major political role of the Federal Republic of Germany in Nato these assets probably explain why, despite some difficulties, the Alliance unanimously appointed Manfred Wörner as its new secretary-general.

Wörner is unlikely to be too sad about leaving Bonn, since through no fault of Wörner's he will have to bequeath his successor substantial personnel and financial problems for the 1990s.

Dieter Putz

(Kieler Nachrichten, 12 December 1987)

East Bloc again pulls out the big hammer

During the East bloc summit in East Berlin, which was convened by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov to report on his meeting with President Reagan, the INF treaty scrapping medium-range missiles was hailed as an achievement of new political thinking.

The Day of Human Rights introduced by the United Nations showed how much more of this new thinking is needed in other fields of socialist societies.

What happened on this day in East bloc countries was a veritable lesson in how human rights are denied and violated.

A huge contingent of police and state security forces in East Berlin prevented a protest demonstration by the independent "Peace and Human Rights Initiative".

The group tried to distribute a declaration in front of the building of the "official" GDR Human Rights Committee calling among other things for an open and truly democratic society.

In Moscow the start of an international conference on religious liberty and the freedom of speech, which was organised by an independent "Press Association Glasnost", was not allowed to take place. In Warsaw and in other Polish cities the police took action against human rights activists demonstrating for the release of political prisoners.

In Prague a human rights rally with attended by roughly one thousand people was dispersed and the public reading out of a list of the names of political prisoners was drowned by the sound of Christmas carols being played over a public address system.

Anyone who tries to talk about the rights of individuals in East bloc countries disrupts "socialist life" and the "public order".

This response by the Communist system to the will for freedom is too meagre to serve as the final answer.

In view of the GDR protest in Bonn against "intervention in its internal affairs" it is worth recalling that the violation of human rights is not an internal matter of individual states.

The East bloc countries also signed the CSCE final accords in Helsinki and the UN declaration of human rights.

Wherever human rights are violated — Afghanistan, Chile or Eastern Europe — it is an international matter.

There are signs that Gorbachov noticed in America just how important the West thinks individual freedom is.

These are the same freedoms, incidentally, which are also guaranteed in the constitutions of Eastern bloc countries.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 12 December 1987)

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■ THE INF TREATY

Milestones on a long road to success

After years of arduous negotiations, Nato and the Warsaw pact powers have agreed on the first ever nuclear-disarmament treaty. The treaty scraps all land based medium-range missiles. It only needs Congress's seal of approval.

The route to a treaty has been long and arduous. It comes 10 years after former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt warned the Institute for Strategic Studies in London of a build up of new medium-range Russian SS-20 missiles.

In December 1979, two months before the Allies decided to deploy their own medium-range missiles, the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, proposed his first moratorium. He promised to station no more missiles if Nato would not station any. But the Americans knew that the Soviets had already 130 SS-20s with 390 warheads in position.

Nato decided to station 108 Pershing II missiles and 96 cruise missiles in Germany and another 368 cruise missiles in Britain, the Netherlands, Italy and Belgium.

The first missiles would be stationed in 1984 and the intervening time could be used to negotiate on disarmament.

Chancellor Schmidt visited Moscow in 1980, and the Soviets agreed in principle to negotiations but still insisted that the existing military balance remain the same.

A year later in November 1981, President Reagan offered the "zero option" for the first time. This meant Nato would not station medium-range missiles if the Soviets dismantled theirs.

Negotiators from both sides met in Geneva to work out a deal.

In 1982 the American, Paul Nitze, and the Russian, Juli Kvitsinsky, decided on a balance in the number of launching pads for Western Europe, to renounce Pershing IIs and to freeze the number of SS-20s in Asia. But the Superpowers would not buy it.

The failure of the talks meant that Nato would now almost certainly go ahead and station their missiles. This gave impetus to the peace movement in Germany and other West Europen countries. By the end of October, in Germany alone, millions of demonstrators had been on the streets.

Crowds gathered at American bases and blocked the roads with demonstrators. The new CDU/FDP coalition goverment approved the deployment and the first shipment of missiles duly arrived at Mutlangen, near Stuttgart, where the peace movement concentrated its efforts there.

With all this controversy over the stationing, the Soviets suddenly broke off negotiations in Geneva and did not make an appearance there again until March 1985.

In the meantime Mikhail Gorbachov had become the new Soviet leader and he came up with a new series of proposals.

His first was a moratorium on the stationing of Russian medium-range missiles followed by a call on both sides to stop further stationing taking place.

Two months after the first Reagan-Gorbachov summit in November 1985 in Geneva, the Russian leader sent Reagan a letter with, among other things, the proposal to get rid of all medium-range missiles in the coming five to eight years. This was the first time that such an offer was made without a demand for the inclusion of the British or French missiles as part of the deal.

The second summit took place in Reykjavik in October 1986. Both leaders agreed in principle to reduce the number of warheads to a hundred. But the meeting ran aground on the American refusal to put SDI on ice.

In February 1987, Gorbachov declared his willingness to sign an agreement on medium-range missiles, independent of agreement on intercontinental and SDI. The following April Gorbachov proposed the zero-zero option.

Medium-range missiles with a range of 1000 to 5,500 kilometres would be dismantled with ones of shorter range in the 500 and 1000 kilometre ranges.

On the July 22, came the offer of a global zero option. Even the other 100 systems in Asia and in the USA could be shredded.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 9 December 1987)

Getting rid of the nuclear missiles

Delivery systems, mid 1987

	USA	USSR
INF treaty		
Longer medium range	316	553
Shorter medium range	72 (With Bundeswehr)	ca.130
Halving arsenals proposed		
Intercontinental missiles	1000	1398
Submarine-launched strategic missiles	640	967
Long-range bombers	339	140

Source: SIPRI © Globus 6812

The acid test

Continued from page 1

more disarmament results in less security. This triggered a recollection of the essential problem: it was the West which, right from outset, relied primarily on nuclear deterrence, the Soviets relying on their superiority in the field of conventional forces.

Accordingly, nuclear deterrence was always the Soviet Union's strategic goal, whereas the Americans insisted on a reduction of Soviet tank and troop superiority.

So will Kremlin leader Gorbachov now achieve this goal without a corresponding service in return?

As CDU disarmament expert Volker Rühe explained, it is "precisely the continuing invasion capability of the Warsaw Pact which poses the real threat to Western Europeans and in particular Germans."

The acid test for disarmament policy lies ahead.

The short-range nuclear missiles in the West, the only then remaining means of defence against attacks by mass units of conventional Warsaw Pact forces, can only be scrapped if Gorbachov seriously attempts to reduce the imbalance in the conventional field.

And Nato would like to see all the world's chemical weapons destroyed. What is needed is an overall disarmament concept.

The concept's long-term objective must be a mutually balanced defence potential which eliminates the possibility of surprise attacks.

Bernd Brügge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 6 December 1987)

Matter of giving credit — but to whom?

The ink was barely dry on the missiles treaty when politicans in Germany began claiming credit for having paved the way to success.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl, says his role in getting the arms summit to take place was a decisive one. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher says he and former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt pressurised the Russians with new American missiles into coming to the bargaining table.

The SPD and the Greens are still taking a pacifist stand. Both parties point out that despite the reduction in missiles, Germans and West Europeans were mere on-lookers at the summit.

If one keeps this fact in mind, they say, then no German politician should indulge in self-congratulation.

Only a year ago, Helmut Kohl was the very man who thought Gorbachov was a demagogue who only wanted to lead Nato into danger with the carrot of questionable disarmament.

Kohl feared that the Americans in the heel of the hunt would look after their own interests regardless of Germany. Adenauer had the same fear and it has by no means left Kohl yet.

It's a source of worry to him that Reagan's lame-duck presidency is prepared to pay almost any price to get a peace treaty in the interests of image-bolstering. Ironically, it is the SPD and the Greens who are now applauding the Americans rather than Kohl.

In Germany the route to the summit was paved with political turbulence. The SPD left Helmut Schmidt, their own Chancellor, in the lurch on the issue.

If the view is correct, that a display of strength brought the Russians to the negotiation table, then the SPD has to subtract Schmidt's share from any merit claimed by it today.

Even the SPD's thesis, that Reagan's refusal to stop SDI wrecked the Reykjavik summit is wrong. By insisting that the Americans drop SDI before an arms deal could be done, the Soviets themselves ruined negotiations.

The man with all the luck is Genscher. In an interview with *Stern* magazine, he said he shared the merit with Schmidt for the zero-zero option. Genscher remembers somewhat smugly that the CDU/CSU opposition didn't like it at all at that time.

Later Genscher broke ranks with the SPD and entered a coalition with the CDU/CSU. Much to his delight and much to the disgust of the conservative CSU head Franz Josef Strauss, no change followed in foreign security policy.

Kohl took over the Genscher line. Strauss thought a change of policy was on the cards which was never promised by the FDP. Strauss has not lost any of his scepticism for the superpower summit. It's not a summit for which he impatiently waited.

The energy being spent on finding out which German politican was most responsible for the summit taking place should be devoted to more important matters.

The scrapping of missiles is of historic importance if it leads onto more comprehensive disarmament measures.

Only that will protect Germans from the threat of vastly superior Soviet tanks, artillery and short-range missiles. Otherwise Germans may see the results of the recent treaty more as a disaster than a blessing.

Hermann Eich

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 9 December 1987)

Ready for Soviet inspectors

Soviet inspection teams will fly into the American airforce base in Frankfurt to make their short-notice inspection of the seven missile bases in the Federal Republic to see whether the terms of the missiles treaty are being followed.

The Russians will also inspect the Pershing workshop in Frankfurt-Hausen, the US military airport in Frankfurt itself and a spare parts depot in Weilerbach, near Kaiserslautern.

In addition, a separate agreement has been signed in Brussels. This means that the Americans will discuss the inspection rules with the five European nations on whose soil the missiles are based. They are Germany, Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium.

The Russians will even be monitoring in Germany the American data about the number of medium-range and cruise missiles to make sure that the figures match the facts. A series of short term inspections will take place over three years until the missiles have all gone. Then a final inspection will take place. There will be by periodic inspections over the years.

The Americans will receive a list of inspectors' names from Moscow. They will pass it on to the Germans, who will be able to object within 15 days if there is reason — valid reasons would, for example, be if a nominee has been caught spying in Germany or has a criminal record here.

The Russians will have privileges in Germany. They will get a visa for at least two years; will have diplomatic immunity; and will be able to pass through the cutoms without declaring anything.

The government will, however, be able to examine technical equipment and refuse admittance for illegal devices.

Inspectors will have nine hours to get to a base after announcing that an inspection will take place. This means Bonn must have the visas ready within 40 minutes of the Americans passing on news of an inspection.

The inspectors will be on standby 24 hours. They will be able to apply for an eight-hour extension.

The Russians will arrive at and leave from the US military airport in Frankfurt and will be brought from there to the inspection sites accompanied both by American and German officials.

Jürgen Lorenz

(Kieler Nachrichten, 10 December 1987)

■ PEACE MOVEMENT

Protest life gets slower down at the henhouse

A converted henhouse has for four years been the focal point for a standing demonstration at Mutlangen, a military base 30 kilometres from Stuttgart, where Nato missiles are stationed.

The protest built up as the missiles were first deployed at the beginning of the decade and there were always between 15 and 20 protesters at the Mutlangen hut.

Today there are only 10. And their motivation is on the wane. The big-power missiles deal has seen to that.

The hut, which was also used by the Press and became known as the Press hut, turned into a symbol of the protest. It was donated by sympathetic locals — and there weren't too many of them.

One of the remaining protesters said on the eve of the Gorbachov-Reagan deal: "What's the point of staying here now?" The deal would change everything.

At the height of the protest movement, protesters set up blockades, helped visiting blockaders from other parts, followed Pershing transporters throughout southern Germany, kept the public informed about what was happening and helped protestors who got into trouble with the police.

Now, the blockades are almost a thing of the past. Blockaders tend to get out of the way before the police move in to make arrests. The mood now is that a fundamental rethink about the peace movement's aims is needed.



Roses instead of rockets? Protester outside Pershing site.

(Photo: dpa)

Merely asking where the next missile is, they say, is not enough.

There is a growing trend towards returning to "normal" working life, even though protesters agree that not all jobs are acceptable and that political activities will continue.

One of the protesters who has decided to move out of the Mutlangen hut is Hinrich Ohlsen, one of the hut's political brains.

Since May, Ohlsen, who was sent to prison for several months for repeated blockades, has been living in a single room he has rented in nearby Schwäbisch Gmünd. He is not overpessimistic about the future of the peace movement.

He is convinced that as the response to the first real steps towards disarmament was not as positive as he feared the peace movement will not drift into passivity.

But Ohlsen does feel that things are breaking up in Mutlangen and elsewhere. He blames this on the peace movement's "fixation on Pershings".

The willingness to criticise the movement's political strategy had increased since the start of the deployment of the new medium-range missiles in the early 1980s.

Even words such as "hysteria" are now used to describe the emotional reaction of the peace movement at that time to the stationing of US missiles.

Yet the hut will continue to be haunted by the spirit of its former inhabitants.

Ohlsen hopes that the association which has now bought the three-storey building, the *Verein Friedens- und Begegnungstätte*, will turn it into an alternative education institution.

There is no lack of issues which could be discussed there, ranging from nuclear energy to alternative lifestyles.

Perhaps the locals would welcome such an institution more than the idea of a base for left-wing extremists.

There has been an increasing number of attacks on the centre recently by right-wing extremist groups.

Molotov cocktails have occasionally been thrown and the protesters have not always been too non-violent in return.

One protestor claimed that the police usually drive past when there's trouble at the hut. The protestors then feel hostility from both sides.

The residents of the Carl Kabat house pay their respect to the imprisoned American clergyman who has dedicated his life to the campaign against nuclear weapons by standing outside the gate of the missile depot twice daily.

The house, just a few hundred metres away from the press hut, supports the campaign "Civil Disobedience until Disarmament".

The residents will definitely stay there until the Pershings are taken away before they move off to take part in other campaigns for peace.

After all, even if many people failed or did not want to realise it, civil disobedience in the form of blockades was only the final step in the political conflict over disarmament.

As one peace protester in Mutlangen put it, "civil disobedience can no longer be applied" in the situation which exists at the end of 1987.

Peter Henkel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 27 November 1987)

Strategy rethink following missiles deal

The peace movement wants a clause renouncing nuclear weapons to be included in Basic Law, the Bonn constitution.

This was part of a resolution passed almost unanimously by a meeting in Bonn. The resolution also called for the Federal Republic to be declared a nuclear-free area and a zone free of chemical weapons. It called for a halt to various West European military initiatives.

The meeting was an attempt by the peace movement to draw up a new strategy following the missiles deal signed by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov.

The resolution will first be discussed by local peace groups and then put on the agenda of a special strategy conference in March.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the movement was able to jam the streets with millions of protesters. But at the Bonn meeting, it did not look in good shape at all. It looks as if the missiles agreement has caught it napping.

Plenty of peace movement activists claimed that they deserved the credit for the superpower deal.

Yet the verbose exclamations of this "success" almost sounded like loud whistling in a dark wood.

Dieter Schöffmann, the spokesman of the independent peace groups, said that "the greater the confusedness, the longer the wording" of the resolutions.

He appealed to his fellow peace protesters to admit the confusion in the West German peace movement caused by the Soviet-American agreement. A reorientation would be needed.

There was general agreement that the INF treaty represents a definite turning-point in the activities of the peace movement and that it must also rank as a "first step" along the road to disarmament.

The peace movement would still have plenty to do. However, as soon as attempts are made to draw political conclusions from the situation the congeni-

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

tal defects of the peace movement come to light.

The movement then breaks up into various factions: Communists, Social Democrats, Greens or Christians.

The initiatives aligned to the DKP, the Moscow-orientated orthodox Communist Party, seemed to be at a greater loss than others over how to react to the superpower deal.

After years of calling for the "unilateral disarmament" of the USA the dynamic thrust of Mikhail Gorbachov's activities has got them confused.

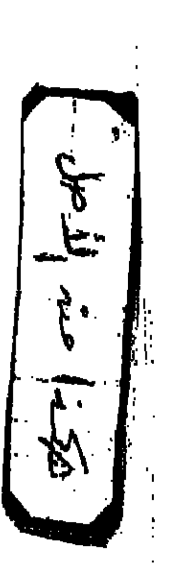
A conference statement protesting against the incident in the East Berlin Zion church made this clear.

As the paper was rejected by the DKP-orientated groups an attempt was made to get the paper accepted by acclamation.

However, after a vote was demanded the many abstentions revealed the obstacles to consensus within the peace movement.

Heinz Verfürth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 30 November 1987)



■ PERSPECTIVE

Germany: a time for action and an end to the myth about the political dwarf

Germany's reputation of being an economic giant and a political dwarf is a cliche which has long since turned into a myth.

In today's world, economic strength is almost the same equivalent to political potency. Within the trading triangle of America, Europe and Japan, money and goods have become perhaps the most important currencies of power.

In contrast to Asia and Africa, where weapons have the last word, the democratic industrial states no longer regard violence as an appropriate currency of politics.

The atomic bomb has effectively avoided a third world war, and to a large extent neutralised military power, if not debased it.

Large military machines are wonderful deterrents. But they can never be used aggressively without fear of provoking nuclear retaliation.

Therefore such military potential is not megatonne for megatonne automatically transferable into the currency of political power.

Power and influence have to be created somewhere else. And nobody has recognised this better than the Russians and the Americans, who are now on the way to halving their inflated arsenals.

Germany does not have military power. But as we can see this form of power has become impotent anyway. What she does have is economic power. If Germans realised that this is actually what gives a nation power, then the cliche of German impotence could be shown to be the myth it really is.

Any nation which is the world's leading exporter, followed by Japan and the US, and has the second largest trading surplus, is no political dwarf. Germany can congratulate itself on being one of the three trading superpowers in the world.

The myth of the powerless giant is dangerous for the German and world economies, on which no country is more dependent that Germany.

The events of "Black Monday", 19 October, show how dangerous it is for the world economy, when a nation like Germany avoids committing itself to a course of corrective action because of its belief in its own political impotence.

The dollar slid, and a downward spiral broke out on the worlds' stock exchanges. Since the crash the view has been gaining ground that it was more than merely a long overdue corrective action to a boom.

Experts have revised their predictions on growth rates. The dollar recovered but slid again. And now there is the threat that international trade, which has been the backbone of the German economy for decades, will contract.

The Wall Street Journal asked: where is Kohl? Which means: what are the Germans doing about it? Well, the answer is: nothing. The government and the Bundesbank pleaded innocence and acted as if Germany were on another planet out in space like some mute satellite.

They concentrated more on internal disputes about Uwe Barschel - the former Schleswig-Holstein Premier who committed suicide in the midst of a dirty tricks campaign scandal - and the call for banning of masks at demonstrations.

As regards the crash: Bonn blamed the Americans for it.



The question is would events have been different if Bonn had recognised the warning signals earlier and had taken action? If Bonn had lowered the discount rate immediately and if Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg had also reacted by boosting economy bringing forward his plans on tax relief or a tax break according to the laws on stability and growth.

Admittedly one can argue whether such corrections in such a liquid economy would have the desired effect quickly enough. But as Bismarck once said: "Sometimes it's better to make a bad decision than no decision at all." A bad decision can have psychology efficacy.

For all its problems, the international economy is not too badly off. Japanese growth has accelerated to 3 per cent. American growth managed 3.8 per cent in the third quarter this year.

But the Americans have deliberately dropped the reins of the international economic wagon. And this is where the Germans could have taken over role in keeping with their economic status. Instead of doing nothing, they could have taken fiscal action to boost their own standing and also to increase their own sluggish growth of less than 2 per cent.

Instead, what remains is tragically ironic. The Germans reluctantly lowered the discount rate and announced plans for cheap loans that will removed DM300 million a year from the federal budget, acts which would have been highly thought of a few weeks earlier.

One could argue that with the collapse of the dollar and American economic leadership, the Germans missed the chance of sending the staggering world economy a psychological signal that there was, indeed some leadership around.

Instead nothing was done to stem the fears that the 1930s were on the way again.

The world economy cannot manage itself. The Americans understood this and, for a long time, carried the burden of managing a system from which Japan and Germany, the war losers, have handsomely profited.

Both powers have had the advantage of access to American markets, an overvalued dollar and a security structure into which they pay little. The Japanese pay a mere 1 per cent of their GNP and the Germans 3. This contrasts with Britain's 5 per cent and America's 6.

Since 1982, the Americans have selfishly or not, worked for liquidity and global demand. This is the benefit of their deficit, which at the moment is being blamed for everything.

The Germans and the Japanese with their 30 per cent export quotas, got the benefit of this demand without having to boost their own economies.

But that's all over now. People are too busy putting the blame on each other. And where should the new impetus come from? If the dollar falls further it will act like a wall of protectionism. And what if the Americans really do wipe out their deficit?

Helmut Schmidt, who was a master of the Black Peter strategy (Black Peter is a card game in which the aim is not to be left holding the card of the same name at the end of the game) during Carter's presidency was right when he said, "All three are world champions with regard to their foreign trade imbalances; no one can put his house in order by himself or merely by his own means."

What he is implying is that the Germans and Japanese should be reducing their surpluses by domestic growth just as much as the Americans should be reducing their deficits by fiscal discipline.

The effect of this would be to match self-interest with responsibility. At present German growth is below the OECD average. Unemployment is three times higher than after the second oil shock. Our investment rate is behind that of France, America and Japan. This figures paint a gloomy picture for the now jaded economic wonder. The Germans have got to realise that any nation that exports 30 per cent of its domestic product, has to come out from behind its unimportance and do something for the world economy.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 5 December 1987)

Honecker visit and the issue of unity

It was painful to see East Berlin party head Erich Honecker wined and dined in Bonn, the CSU leader in the Bonn Bundestag, Theodor Waigel, told a meeting of the Hanns Seidel Foundation, which has links with the party.

But Waigel said that the pain was alleviated by the references Chancellor Kohl made in his speech when he called for unity and denounced the East Berlin policy of shooting people trying to escape to the West.

The speech was broadcast to East German homes. Waigel referred to the importance of the visit and mentioned the increase in the number of people allowed out of East Germany because of the policy of contact.

Also on the discussion panel were two German politicians from the Federal Republic, an American, a Frenchman and a Briton. The theme was the future of a divided Germany.

Both parts of Germany are German and have common German problems. Both political systems are highly industrialised. They both have the typical problems of such states. They use natural resources such as air, water, and land without giving them a chance to regenerate.

The chronically polluted Elbe which flows through both parts is the most visible example. So it would not be wrong to say that the Germanies have common problems which can only be solved by cooperation.

And as much as Waigel may dream about the German question being resolved by a peace treaty, the reality is that the visit by Honecker amounts to an unofficial recognition of the East German state by a conservative Bonn government.

Rupert Scholz, the CDU Berlin senator was the one who tackled the theme politically. He claimed that the long icy East West relationship was at last beginning to thaw. And is he in this respect wrong?

His opinion shows a lot of insight. He said if the government wants to make use of the new situation it must add impetus to developments. It should avoid anything that could risk a return to old entrenched attitudes.

Scholz believes that a policy of demarcation is no longer in the best of interest of Germans. The question is what is the logical conclusion of this outlook? If not convergence or rapprochement what then?

Scholz later made it clear that by rapprochement he did not mean anything stronger. He said that if it could be assumed that one day the people of both sides were able to decide for themselves what the future should be; and if the Germans in East Germany decided they did in fact want to stay under a communist government; that there could be laws framed in such a way that, in accordance with a system of federation, the desires of the East Germans would required to be taken into valid account so that their position as a minority were issued with relevant, contiguous and obligatory recognition; and that this situation would hold sway over unity.

But the present will determine the future. And Scholz says what's needed now is an intelligent continuation of the new developments.

But this view was not without its criticism from former European Commissioner Pierre Pflimlin, from Strassbourg. He said whoever wants to counteract the power Blocs should not in his enthusiasm, overlook the fact that Blocs also mean unity and stability.

This clever Frenchman perhaps meant to remind the conservative group to get their priorities right. The most important one being the western alliance which guarantees freedom. One can draw from this that major western partners are worried to death that the irrational Germans might try and undermine this by making a deal involving neutrality. An outlook which reveals the irrational fears of the allies as much as anything else.

It cannot be much comfort for Pflimlin nor for the mistrustful observant Germans that other nations are also nervous about developments.

The American diplomat, John Kornblum, expressed the general mistrust. The other nations have fears that the Germans could turn radical in the event of an economic depression and a subsequent drop in living standards. Though he feels that the opposite case might prove to be the problem.

West Germany surpasses the gross national product of Russia and has a better balance of trade than the Americans. She can also claim to be politically stable. It's quite possible that the frustration at being a political dwarf could spur them on to make their own decisions on foreign policy.

Kornblum finds his evidence in the ranks of the CDU. Some politicians are talking of singularisation of the German situation in the threatened East-West corridor.

Is the future of German a cause for worry? It is and remains undisputed that the Germans want to retain the par-

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■ INDUSTRY

Decline of Krupp a sign of the age of the tin can

Steel men used to be the pride of the nation. The creators of steel giants like Krupp and Thyssen had the freedom of the land.

How times change. Every Krupp iron and steel works in Rheinhausen that Emperor Wilhelm II visited the best part of a century ago is to be closed.

The beginning of the end for the Rheinhausen works, which is almost 100 years old, was in the mid-1970s. There have been many causes. They have had a cumulative effect.

The steel requirements of a nation have declined. Tin cans and cars are today's big users, but they swallow up less steel than traditional users like bridges, steel girders and railway lines.

Technology means that less steel is used: cars, washing-machines and containers are being built with thinner parts.

New materials have emerged to take steel's place; and threshold countries with low wages have picked up a lot of the market.

All these together have created a structural crisis within the steel industry. In this crisis the capacities of the European steel industry have been drastically reduced, and the reduction in capacities still has some way to go.

These are the laws of the international market and no-one can halt them. Krupp workers, through, do ask why their works have to be closed, why their works' production should be placed with the neighbouring Thyssen and Mannesmann plants in an agreement between the three companies.

The despairing question put by the Krupp workers touches on a central point.

There is a strong likelihood that their Rheinhausen works could have continued for years, despite the fact that the plant produces sectional steel, badly hit by the current steel industry crisis.

If market forces had been allowed to operate then many west European works would have had to disappear before the Krupp works at Rheinhausen went to the wall.

But market forces have been applied to the steel industry only to a limited degree for a long time.

Since 1980 steel companies have produced and marketed a big proportion of their production under one of the compulsory cartels, organised and supervised by the European Commission, although this Commission is responsible for seeing that the market is not distorted by cartels.

The quota cartel means the ordinary levelling off of individual producers by such market-linked mechanisms, irrespective of their production capacities.

But not all were equal. Some were "more equal" because their governments had given them a helping hand with lavish subsidies.

According to German steel producers more than DM100bn have been poured into the steel industries of partner countries in the European Community since 1976. No-one has seriously disputed this figure so far.

Since the beginning of the 1980s the West German government has been urged, beseeched in fact, to put up a stand in Brussels against the subsidy flood.

The most capable manager with the best works and the most industrious labourforce in the world cannot stand up for long to the competition posed by foreign finance ministers.

The Bonn government's passivity, under Helmut Schmidt just as much as under Helmut Kohl, has contributed to the disappearance of German steel production capacities from the marketplace, while weak steelworks in France, Britain and Italy continue to operate.

It is well known that the Italian steel industry has demanded fresh subsidies running into billions and that the Belgian Cockerill group has made losses running into the hundreds of millions.

Subsidies in France have not been so high but even there a halt should be made to "subsidy-itis."

It is also regrettable that the Bonn government is not so credible in Brussels now as it could have been earlier. The West German steel industry is itself no longer without sin. Saarstahl and the bankrupt Maxhütte have swallowed up enormous sums of public money.

Can and should the Bonn government, whose Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg arduously battles against debts, pour billions into what remains of the West German steel industry?

Can the government defend the German steel industry from heavily-subsidised imports from neighbouring Common Market countries, by compensatory tariffs?

That would not be a satisfactory solution even if it were possible in Europe.

The Bonn government will now safeguard such products that are regulated by the quota system by the continuation of the cartel. But that is not a long-term solution.

There is no way round reducing capacities. Arrangements can be developed that make this process "socially bearable," but the industry's future lies in a continued, concentration of effort on high-quality products that will increase the industry's competitive edge.

Who, however, in this situation, politician or trades union leader, provokes the despairing workers to blind anger instead of explaining the position to them as it is and working with them constructively to search for solutions, acts irresponsibly.

Helmut Uebbing

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 December 1987)

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liamentary democracy which the Americans and British taught them.

It's also true that the 17 million in East Germany would love to have the same freedom and civil rights. Wherby it's impossible to say whether that would be desirable or conceivable within the framework of a common state.

It's also a fact that the CDU and the CSU had to ditch the reunification rhetoric of the opposition years. Honecker's sphere of influence cannot be dismissed as just a phenomenon.

Finally, let us have integration by all means as long as it guarantees freedom. But we must not forget that geography placed the Germans in Central Europe and gave them no choice in the neighbours that they have.

Felix Hartlieb

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 November 1987)



Ruhr steelworkers push into the Villa Hügel during a Krupp board meeting. (Photo: Sven Simon)

City comes to a halt in support of protesting steelworkers

Steelworkers employed by Krupp are rebelling against planned plant closures. Sympathy strikes brought the Ruhr port of Duisburg to a virtual halt one day this month. One group of workers went to the Villa Hügel, the former Krupp residence and symbol of the Krupp dynasty, and broke in on a supervisory board meeting to make their point. An observer said: "Old Alfred Krupp would turn in his grave." And the steelworkers say they are prepared to fight on, as Hans Wüllenweber reports for *Stuttgarter Zeitung*.

Five hundred steelworkers from the Krupp Rheinhausen steelworks stormed the Villa Hügel in Essen to protest against the planned shutdowns. The protest was non-violent, but it was also non-stoppable.

The Villa was built in 1870 as the city residence of the Krupp dynasty. It now used mainly for art exhibitions.

But this day, a meeting of the Krupp supervisory board was being held. A works council spokesman said: "For the first time, workers have stormed the citadel of capital and politics."

The board meeting had to be delayed. Chairman of the board Berthold Beitz, 74, heard what the workers had to say — why they objected to the closing of the ultramodern Krupp works in Duisburg-Rheinhausen.

Outside, 500 Krupp employees warmed their fingers, frozen from carrying banners in the winter air, in front of a log fire.

Protesters had turned up from Krupp Koppers, also in Essen, and Krupp Polysius in Beckum, Westphalia. They suspect that their factories will be next on the list.

The head of the West German Trades Union Federation, Ernst Breit, was present in the Villa as a member of the Krupp supervisory board. He encouraged the strikers not to give up, but he warned against violence.

Beitz promised he would do what he could. But he put a rather odd question: "Should I hand over my salary?"

The "Thursday Campaign" could go down in the history of Europe's largest industrial conurbation in the Rhine and Ruhr and in the annals of the Federal Republic.

The Federal Republic has been threatened for the first time since its establishment by a "general strike" — if only in Duisburg with a population of 600,000 and the world's largest inland port.

Traffic and business in Duisburg were brought to a complete standstill. City leaders closed the Town Hall and all municipal buildings. Thousand of city officials and employees wanted to join the steelworkers on the streets.

It was assumed that workers at the Duisburg works of Mannesmann and Thyssen will "spontaneously" come out in sympathy with their striking Krupp colleagues.

The public services trade union (ÖTV) came down on the side of the steelworkers. The city's fleet of public vehicles stopped running. Dustmen and road-cleaners got into their 170 orange-coloured dust carts and special wagons and, with warning lights flashing, made for the Krupp steelworks.

There the caravan of vehicles stopped and blocked the works' entrance for several hours.

While 500 got into ten buses shouting the battle cry "To the Villa Hügel" and went off to Essen, another 500 moved forward to the Krupp administrative building, next to the Rheinhausen works, with the intention of bringing management to a standstill. They were successful.

Hardly one of the hundred or so office workers got through the human cordon. Management sent the employees from the accounts department home.

A young police officer took the sides of the steelworkers. He said it was unfair that an ordinary citizen was quickly punished for an offence, but where was the punishment for Krupp steel boss Gerhard Cromme, whose closure plan will throw thousands of families into want?

The Catholic bishops of Essen, Aachen and Paderborn came out in support of the steelworkers.

The steelworkers have let it be known that if the closure plan is not abandoned their campaign will be intensified and even greater protests will be mounted "without violence, peaceably."

Klaus Löllgen said that his steelworkers were in good heart, and that they were resolved to fight on relentlessly. "We shall not let the works go to the dogs," he said.

Hans Wüllenweber

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10 December 1987)

■ COMPUTERS

Rapid growth of data-banks not a universal trend outside America

Hannoversche Allgemeine

In 1957 the Russians launched *Sputnik* into orbit. It sent out signals which were unintelligible to eavesdroppers.

The Americans spent $20m and six months work on deciphering the code.

Only later did the Americans realised they could have saved themselves both the time and the money. Data about the Russian code was in an American university library. But not one researcher on the decoding team thought of looking for the information there.

Today, this sort of experience is believed to be the driving force behind the developing of data bank systems.

As a result of this, according to IGE - the German Economics Institute - 30 years after *Sputnik*, there are 3,400 databanks accessible to the public around the world.

Libraries all over the world are now faced with a dangerous new rival. For data banks are in reality archives. Though admittedly stored in computers, which electronically stores, distributes and keeps on call data.

The data is collected from different fields by 530 private computing centres called Hosts. Whoever wants data receives an access code word. His computer then receives the data over the telecommunications net. The post office sends the bill afterwards.

The advantages of data banks over libraries is obvious. The user can receive printed information within seconds without having to leave his desk.

And the system functions optimally regardless of whether information is required on exchange rates in New York, short technical reports from London or specialist essays and reports on German enterprises, markets or patents.

When one takes into account how many hours are lost looking for information in libraries, one would expect to see a boom in the use of data banks.

Surprisingly it's not the case. The concept is still alien to many medium sized Central European and Japanese firms. Whereas in America it has long have been routine.

The Institute of Economics estimates that the Hosts will have made a turnover of DM4.3b by 1987. Which is not much when one takes into account that ten times that is spent on all specialist information when one takes into account the combined cost of electronically stored or printed data..

The Americans lead the data bank market with 75 per cent of the turnover. They are followed by Britain, with 10 per cent. The Japanese and Swiss each have three per cent and the Germans and the French each only two per cent.

Chemical enterprises in Germany, which are also front runners in international markets, lead in the domestic market with 33 per cent in the use of data information. According to IGE, public institutions such as universities or associations use 31 per cent and the electronics industry makes up 14 per cent. Other service industries make up 12 per cent.

A market study commissioned in 1986 by the Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn from the Munich based Ifo-Institute, found that there was little use being made of external data banks.

This finding is not new. Already in the 80s, the German government set out its specialist information programme to reinforce the promotion of enterprise, so that steadily increasing mass of information could be dealt with by electronically.

Bonn spent DM939m between 1985 and 1988. The Federal Research Ministry estimates that about 20 per cent is being spent on setting up data banks.

Entrepreneurs from even states like Lower Saxony are profitting from such developments. Lothar Schaar is a good example. He is the commercial head of the EZN in Hanover, a Lower Saxony research centre. Apart from research promotion, his specialists offer an information service to those who afford their own computers.

The team of experts has been receiving subsidies since it got together in 1981. Originally the Lower Saxony Economics Ministry gave the subsidy, but this was taken over at the start of this year by the federal government. Without these subsidies neither the research nor the data services could remain viable.

Since 1986 the number of information brokers has increased from 175 to 250 in West Germany. Fifty of them are commercial. Nearly all of them need public subsidies. In the USA there are about million.

There are many reasons for this lack of impetus in the German market, and they are to be found on both the supply and demand side.

One thing is certain. There are too few data banks supporting the German economy. The Ifo-Institute has ascertained that particularly branch and overall economic information has not been electronically stored.

Managers need precisely such information in order to able to introduce new products to the market. Since the middle of 1985, and not least because of support from Bonn, this gap is being closed.

The main problem for suppliers and brokers are the medium sized firms, to whom one otherwise attributes innovationary enthusiasm. 1.7 out of 1.9 million entrepreneurs do not know how to get access to data banks. The Ifo-institute believes that traditional ways of gathering information are the culprit.

Such firms place a lot of value on contact of it's representatives with customers. As a result, trade fairs are highly thought of.

The documentation in such firms is usually miserable. Instead of improving the market position by acting on empirical information, they usually act on the boss's instinct.

Experts believe that professional brokers who do research and reports for other firms can look ahead to rosy times. It would appear that a new profession is making ground in the service industry landscape.

But experts warn that the computer language and service problems, which additionally handicaps acceptance of data banks, will be partly solved in the coming ten years.

People will not find the prospect of themselves making use of computers so off putting. Furthermore, sooner or later even medium-sized firms will new need a computer for drawing up statements or doing the books.

Later even for making contact outside of the firm. Admittedly, so say the experts, the application of computers in a few years to increase competitiveness in world markets could be far too late.

Ralf-Günther Münchow

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 November 1987)

Hackers: making sure someone else pays

General-Anzeiger

I hope I am not sitting on a time bomb, wrote Roy Omond, manager of computer systems in the computing centre of the European Laboratory for Molecular Biology in Heidelberg, in an open letter to his colleagues in New York, Tokio, Paris and Geneva.

Omond had discovered earlier this year that computer hackers had linked up to his computer system and had put all security precautions out of action.

They got in and used the computer to gain access to other systems which included the German space research laboratory in Oberpfaffenhofen.

Other computing centres have reacted less nervously than Omond. Allan Kerbroan, of the Paris Observatory: "Our software engineers need only two hours to repair the changes to our programmes."

At the end of August German hackers got into the computer system as they had three months before. And they gave the security system a good test. Kerbroan: "We couldn't work out what use they could put our astronomical data to."

The hackers introduced themselves by using a codeword and then used more coded information to gain further access. Normally, they would be halted at this point, but a system fault let them get further.

Access to data is usually wide open once hackers have the key to entry. The data can then be manipulated so that they can get even further and make changes so smoothly that detection is difficult or impossible.

The makers of the observatory software say the software has now been altered.

According to Omond, the hackers primarily unloaded the costs of their world-wide computer travels. Computer hook-ups through telephone networks cost money.

They use a system of user-identification — that is, someone else's membership card — to offload all costs.

The user number has to be given when making a transaction so that the post office can send on the bills. Some enormous bills have been run up

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■ THE CHEMICALS INDUSTRY

Big Three are doing well worldwide: ability to adapt pays dividends

DIE ZEIT

Bad news sells newspapers. Some current headline hitters include: Porsche, which is to put some of its staff on short working weeks; Siemens, which is to pay a smaller dividend; and Volkswagen, which is pulling out of car-making in America.

Many nervous observers think these are clear *signs* of an imminent recession.

The good company news is reserved for the back pages of the finance sections: the three leading chemicals groups are doing well.

The bosses of BASF, Bayer and Hoechst are waiting to give their traditional autumn press conferences. They will all give optimistic forecasts for turnover and profits.

Hermann-Josef Strenger, executive board chairman of Bayer, said that although the fall of the dollar had increased the competition's pressure, the company "can keep this in check and balance things out to a large degree with our international connections."

Bayer's profits before tax increased in the first three quarters by an imposing 7.5 per cent to DM2.4bn. Management is convinced that the trend will continue.

Bayer is the fifth largest group in West Germany and has worldwide sales of almost DM41bn. The group employs 173,000.

Unlike other export industry bosses Hans Albers of BASF and Wolfgang Hilger of Hoechst did not find it necessary to come up with the obligatory incantation about the "limits of the pain" in their interim reports, as a result of the *continued decline of the dollar.*

After the automobile industry and engineering, chemicals is the most important sector of industry internationally. The industry has good reasons for meeting the turbulance of the dollar, the world's most important currency, with calm.

The Big Three, along with the Düsseldorf-based Henkel group, have built up their production structure worldwide, making themselves resistant to the risks of currency fluctuations.

It was a real advantage for German chemicals companies that they had begun to invest on the other side of the Atlantic early on.

Confident in their excellent research, Bayer established a joint venture with Monsanto in 1954 to get in on the worldwide boom in artificial fibres, exploiting Bayer's work with polyurethane. (This joint venture was later broken up."

In 1958 BASF welded together a similar alliance with Dow Chemical. In 1968 Hoechst set up its own Trevira production plant in South Carolina, the centre of the American textiles industry.

In the early days the three "successors to the Farben empire" built up their involvement in America when a US dollar cost four marks.

In 1974 Beyer swallowed up the Cutter family business in Berkley, Calfornia. The business handled blood plasma, infusion solutions and medical instruments.

Four years later Bayer took over the Miles Group in Elkhart, Indiana, involved in vitamin preparations, diagnostics and enzymes. Last year BASF had a turnover of four billion deutschemarks and employed 131,000.

In 1985 alone Bayer acquired from the Celanese Corporation division handling heavy-duty solid solutions, a sector with a glowing future, the chemical varnish firm Inmont from United Technologies and the American fibre subsidiary of the Dutch Akzo Group.

Hoechst made the most costly raid of any foreign company into the US market with the acquisition of the remainder of the Celanese group for DM5.9bn.

Hoechst had a turnover last year of about DM38bn and employs 181,000. It reported an American turnover of DM4.8bn — more than major companies of the order of Nixdorf or Schering put together. BASF had a US turnover of DM8.2bn and Bayer DM8.4bn.

The shocks on the currency markets did not give the chemicals giants much cause for alarm. BASF covers 90 per cent of its American turnover by production in America.

In the meantime Bayer has achieved the same dominance on the world's largest chemicals market.

The chemicals multinationals are self-sufficient with their American subsidiaries, and their stability is influenced for the better by their European business which is unaffected by the US dollar.

Over two-thirds of Hoechst exports are supplied to the European Community, Efta or the Comecon countries. Their competitors have a similar trade pattern. Only 15 per cent of BASF exports are invoiced in dollars.

Just like their American competitors DuPont, Dow Chemical and Union Carbide, Bayer, BASF and Hoechst subsidiaries, producing in America, can export considerably with the favourable dollar exchange rate as a stimulus.

Bayer deliveries to the United States were annually worth $700m, but now business from the US in the opposite direction is valued at $500m.

A half of deliveries from North America are exports for customers in the Federal Republic.

BASF exports to the US of about $400m annually will be compensated for by $200m of exports from America to Europe, Latin America and the Far East.

There is little to fear that American chemicals majors can begin competing with German groups in export markets with the cheap US dollar.

In the midst of an American chemicals boom US producers have put all their efforts into capacities to cover domestic demand, capacities that were only expanded hesitantly after the recession of five years ago.

A Hoechst manager, commenting on marketing, said: "At the moment there is no danger."

At the most German chemicals manufacturers will feel pressure from the Americans in consumer products.

This means that BASF, partly as a result of cheap imports from America, has had to introduce short-time in video-cassette production.

BASF's Hans Albers said: "Companies such as 3 M and Memorex can offer video-cassettes at considerably cheaper prices now."

BASF demonstates just how resistant major German chemicals companies have become in the past few years to set-backs with individual products.

Despite a costly reduction in capacities in the fertilizers section which had suffered from reduced sales, a slack magnetic media sector and a drop in earnings in the refining division of subsidiary Wintershall, Herr Albers reported that the first three quarters of this year were "very gratifying" with a slight increase in earnings.

BASF finance director Ronaldo Schmitz was more specific. He said: "Three years ago the consequences of a dollar at DM1.67 and crude oil at eighteen dollars a barrel could not be foreseen."

Contrary to other exporting industries the chemicals sector has the advantage that a devalued dollar does have a positive side. Major chemicals companies can obtain their raw materials and energy suplies cheaply, imported in considerable quantities and paid for to a large extent in US dollars, mainly oil and oil products.

Henkel exports approximately $200m worth of products to the US, almost the same value as imports of [illegible] oil and coconut oil at lower cost [illegible].

Henkel does 40 per cent of its business outside Europe and 45 per cent within Europe, excluding the Federal Republic.

It is not surprising then that Henkel boss Helmut Sihler braces himself with some concern at the possible revaluation of the deutschemark within the European Monetary System.

He said: "A realignment in the EC would hit us harder than the depreciation of the dollar."

Despite the rough times ahead that chemicals managers have to deal with shareholders will be little aware of this in the coming year.

Two of the "Big Three," Bayer and Hoechst, celebrate their 125th anniversary, more an occasion for a bonus than a cut in dividends.

Hans Otto Eglau

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 4 December 1987)

Continued from page 7

by some groups of hackers using other people's numbers.

It looks as if the hackers had little interest in the Heidelberg laboratory itself. They would appear to have used the computing centre to gain entry into the system. Their destinations were the Max Planck Institute for Plasma Physics in Garching, the European Nuclear Research centre in Geneva: CERN, and the cradle of hackers itself; the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Computer systems in Universities and large research centres have always been shown up to be about as watertight as a sieve. CERN has never really been able to shake of events of the hacker era. Experts that there is no security system which is not foolproof.

Jochen Sperber/dpa

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 28 November 1987)

■ ENERGY

Record temperatures generated at joint Spanish-German solar-power plant

Scientists and technicians from Spain and Germany are experimenting with large-scale solar energy production near the town of Almeria in a remote part of Andalusia, on the southern Spanish coast. Helmut Maier-Mannhart reports for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

The hundreds of mirrors standing in line on the treeless and shrubless plateau look like something out of a science-fiction film.

Their purpose is to reflect sunlight towards a small area in the upper third of an 82-metre tower.

Temperatures of up to 1,000 degrees centigrade — never before achieved anywhere in solar-energy production — have been recorded in the tower. This heat has basically been made possible by the use of new materials such as ceramic tubes.

Electricity generation starts at the top of the tower.

The high temperature leads to the evaporation of the coolant in the receiver and the steam produced then propels the turbines.

Using the inexhaustible power of the sun has become reality, even though the output of one megawatt is still pretty meagre.

The *Plataforma Solar* research centre near Almeria is not a commercial project. One of the German firms involved, Bayernwerk AG, invited German journalists along to see what was happening.

Together with Interatom and its Spanish partners, German Research Centre for Aeronautics and Space Travel (DFVLR) is running several research projects at the Spanish centre.

The research project, which is being heavily financed by Bonn, is planned to last until 1991. Then it is hoped that private firms will step in.

The most important trial project for collaboration of this kind in the *Phoebus* project.

It plans to set up a thermosolar tower solar energy plant with an electricity output of 30 megawatts at a cost of between DM300m and DM400m by 1992.

Roughly 20 Spanish, Swiss, Swedish [illegible] West German firms have formed a [illegible]ortium to help finance the project.

[illegible]wever, tower solar energy plants [illegible]ich there are two pilot plants in [illegible], one of which uses sodium as [illegible]ncy-boosting coolant — are [illegible]ariant.

[illegible]ecentralised installations operating on the basis of concave mirrors or concave-shaped channels, which have coolant flowing in tubes in their focal points and can thus be heated to between 300 and 400 degrees centigrade are another.

Two different types of the latter alternative have been installed in southern Spain.

These systems are expected to have the best chances of success in future, since they can be constructed in small units and then, depending on output requirements, extended accordingly.

This means that initial capital costs are not too high, a positive aspect in terms of economic efficiency.

The economical aspect is obviously the crucial factor for business transactions in solar power.

In the case of the tower solar energy plants at least this is still a major stumbling-block.

A DFVLR calculation shows that with current technology a megawatt-hour from a tower solar energy plant costs roughly DM80 compared with between DM20 and DM30 when using coal and between DM5 and DM10 on a uranium basis.

Assuming the development of more sophisticated technology, greater efficiency and a reduction in the cost of the mirrors (heliostats) electricity generated via the tower solar energy plant system is expected to cost DM20 per megawatt-hour by 1995.

This would make the system competitive, but only in regions with plenty of sunshine, such as the European Mediterranean region or the desert areas in Africa, Arabian countries or the USA.

A further problem which has not been taken into account is storage.

If an economical storage system cannot be found solar energy will only be available during certain periods and will thus always be viewed as a kind of "second-class form of energy".

Whereas the united efforts of the Europeans in Spain are still in the research and development phase solar power plants are about to be built on a large scale in the USA.

The leading company in this field is the California-based Luz company, which has already made a name for itself worldwide via its Solar-Electricity Generation Systems (SEGS).

Five power plants using the channel-collector system used in Almeria are already in operation; a total of 20 is planned for 1995.

Whereas the first plant was only a pilot project with an output of 14.3 megawatts all the other plants have a standard output of 30 megawatts.

The Luz company has signed a 30-year purchasing commitment deal with the electricity supply company Southern California Edison (SCE).

The fact that the solar energy plant project is exclusively financed by private investors indicates what a viable proposition it is.

Admittedly, the viability is due to special circumstances.

The power consumption peak in California is round about midday, when all the air-conditioners in this state are on full blast.

The sun's energy yield is at its highest at the same time.

The Luz company charges electricity users 15 cents per kilowatt-hour of this peak-time electricity and thus covers its expenses.

The profit situation will probably be even better when the next power plants come into operation.

Up to now a kilowatt of installed output cost $3,300.

The figure will drop to roughly $2,500 when the next category of power plant is built in 1988.

This is already close to costs for electricity generated by nuclear power plants (between $2,500 and $25,000).

Even if the Europeans are runners-up in the race to use solar energy one aspect of this development is surprising.

The mirrors for the sun-farms in the California Mojave Desert come from the Upper Palatinate in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The West German company Flachglass AG has successfully specialised in their construction.

Mirrors worth $30m have been supplied so far.

Spurred on by this success Flachglass now wants to produce other components too and move into marketing complete solar energy plants.

The example of the Luz company shows that it is already possible today to economically utilise solar energy.

Although this does not apply to Central Europe many parts of the world could make use of this form of energy.

This technology, which is in principle uncomplicated, should definitely be promoted in African and Latin American countries, which spend a great deal of their foreign exchange earnings on energy imports.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Energy in these countries often means survival, for example, as a basis for irrigating land.

Development aid in the form of solar energy plants would give the recipients the energy they urgently need at virtually no expense, since running costs are minimal.

Industrialised countries would also benefit, since many a ton of oil could then be preserved.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 23 November 1987)

A Hamburg firm comes back to earth

A Hamburg factory is turning its experience in making solar equipment for spacecraft to earthbound advantage.

AEG has the biggest automated solar-module production line in Europe at Wedel, west of Hamburg.

Its modules are being used in a variety of items including cars, caravans and yachts.

AEG began developing solar systems for satellites in 1958 and soon the Wedel factory became Europe's biggest manufacturer of solar generators for spacecraft.

In 1975, a 10-year development programme for earthbound solar power was agreed on after a study for the Bonn Ministry for Research and Technology. More than DM200m was invested.

The result is a new production line which began operation a few months ago.

If production is measured in terms of the generating capacity of the the total number of solar cells produced the new factory will have an annual capacity of one million watts (one megawatt) during the initial phase.

An extension of production capacity to three megawatts is possible.

This may not sound all that much, but, by way of comparison, Europe's largest photovoltaic plant, which supplies electricity to the spa centre on the North Sea island of Pellworm, has an output of only 0.3 megawatts.

Annual production worldwide amounts to only ten megawatts.

The solar generators produced in Wedel are made of polycrystalline silicon cells measuring ten by ten centimetres.

This material was chosen because the cells used in space and cut from a higher-efficiency single crystal were much too expensive.

Experts also felt that cells froms non-crystallised silicon were not yet ready for use.

For this "amorphous" material not only has an efficiency ratio which is only half the ten per cent recorded for polycrystalline cells, but also suffers from ageing effects which lower efficiency markedly after only a few years.

AEG is convinced that the price advantage the amorphous base material can undoubtedly claim does not have that great an influence on the cost of the solar generator system as a whole.

This is due to the fact that in the case of the amorphous cells the silicon has to be cast or vacuum-metallised on a film in the form of an extremely thin layer — sometimes not more than a thousandth of a millimetre thick.

In the case of the polycrystalline cells, on the other hand, the silicon is initially cast in the form of a big block, in which crystalline substructures develop after cooling.

This block then has to be cut in such a way that columns are created with a cross-section of ten by ten centimetres.

The solar cells are then sawn off these columns as thin one-millimetre thick disks.

These disks are then etched to remove the traces of cuts and to produce a smooth surface.

Above all, the thickness of the material and the loss of material during cutting makes polycrystalline cells much more expensive than amorphous ones at this stage.

However, as the next stage of treatment — the doping of impurities, the contacting with electrodes, the hardening and tempering of the surface with protective coatings, and the embedding in a frame needed for the photovoltaic effect — also accounts for a substantial share of total manufacturing costs, the polycrystalline cells can notch up points in their favour here, since amorphous systems needs twice as much surface area to generate the same power output.

Today's market in this field is still small but interesting.

On the one hand, there are a variety of so-called "island cases", the spectrum here ranging from automatic radio relay and radar equipment and sea buoys to water pumps in developing countries and isolated farms or small settlements in remote regions.

A further field of application with growing significance is the field of modern comforts.

This includes the solar-charging of portable radios and TVs or the supply of electricity via solar modules for weekend houses, caravans and yachts.

Special "solar power packs" are being manufactured in the Wedel AEG factory to cater for needs in this field.

These packs consist of standardised modules, the most frequently used comprising four times five solar cells. These

Continued on page 15

■ THE CITY

Architects, planners, look to the next century

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The city in the 21st century will not be much different from the city of today — at least it will be architecturally similar.

The vital aspects of the city in the 21st century can be seen already, it seems from what delegates had to say at a two-day meeting of architects, city-planners and politicians in West Berlin's Aspen Institute.

On the other hand, the use of the city is expected to change, and that means that its character will too.

The experts could not say much about what directions city development would take. They were uncertain whether it would be to a renewal of the city centre or whether city centres would continue to be collecting tanks for social drop-outs so that other people would live as if they were in a fortress.

There was dispute over whether West Berlin could be regarded as a model of a city of the future.

The city as such has always been a place for innovation and cultural development. The countryside has always served mankind, since the early Stone Age and the discovery of a farming culture, for supplying physical needs.

The intellectual food of mankind was produced in the cities, writing, religion, culture, science and technology.

But during the 20th century the boundaries have been less easy to see and the change process has increased in speed.

The dividing lines between city precincts and the countryside have become less and less distinguishable. Nature is lost, replaced by cityscapes.

At the same time, between the building canyons, nostalgia for the world of nature increases and "city ecology" has become an important feature of planning.

The countryside, not the city, has survived the most radical changes that have taken place in the post-war years leading up to the turn of the century.

The mechanisation of the countryside, created on drawing-boards in the city, is almost completed.

The conversion of villages into suburban residential areas is going ahead at all speed.

The success of technology has also gripped the city and makes it difficult to forecast the future.

According to the Aspen conference delegates, futurology perishes in such circumstances as the oil price crises that could not have been predicted — with the resulting changes in energy consumption.

It is similarly difficult to be able to estimate the effects of certain technologies on city development.

No expert could realise in the 1970s that container traffic in the 1980s would be important in city building, as in New York for instance.

Huge containers have made it possible to transport goods and merchandise faster and cheaper, with the result that former port districts were no longer used to the full.

Housing requirements, particularly exclusive housing, took over the former port districts.

The social decline of these city districts is the consequence of improvements to others. This can be observed in most major cities.

In the days when houses had chimneys that belched smoke, the moves in the city took place to residential areas upwind where the quality of the air was better.

Technical developments have also had their effect on the working world to a degree that cannot be ascertained properly.

Since the decline of the old trade guilds the trend was to separate work from home. But with the new information and communication technology this process seems to have been reversed.

Americans in the discussions said that in the US more than nine million were working in front of a computer screen in their own homes rather than at an office. In three years it is expected that 13 million will be.

City transport will be drastically affected in our future computer-oriented society, when with the aid of computers more work is done at home and people do not have to travel.

In Frankfurt alone with a population of 600,000, there are 250,000 commuters who go into the city in the morning and return in the evening.

The Aspen conference suffered from the fact that no social scientists took part in the survey of the city of the future. The most pressing problems over the next decades will not involve architecture but social aspects.

One British participant said that city-planners had devoted too much attention to the interests of the middle classes and the way they saw themselves.

In many British cities it could be seen that the lower social classes made up the majority of the population, because the more affluent turned their back on the city with its crime problems and went into the suburbs.

A special trend as a consequence of this is that fewer children are growing up in a city.

Frankfurt is the European city with the lowest birth rate among the women of the city. If young people move into a city they are usually newly married without children.

There has been an increase of the police presence in cities with the increase in social differences which are expressed in terms of violence and vandalism. One participant said that the police were the glue that kept the cities in a whole piece.

The Aspen conference looking into the city in the 21st century gave little attention to the burning city-planning question of the 1970s — transport and land policies. The "identity" of the city was regarded as more urgent and city centre renewal at the Aspen conference.

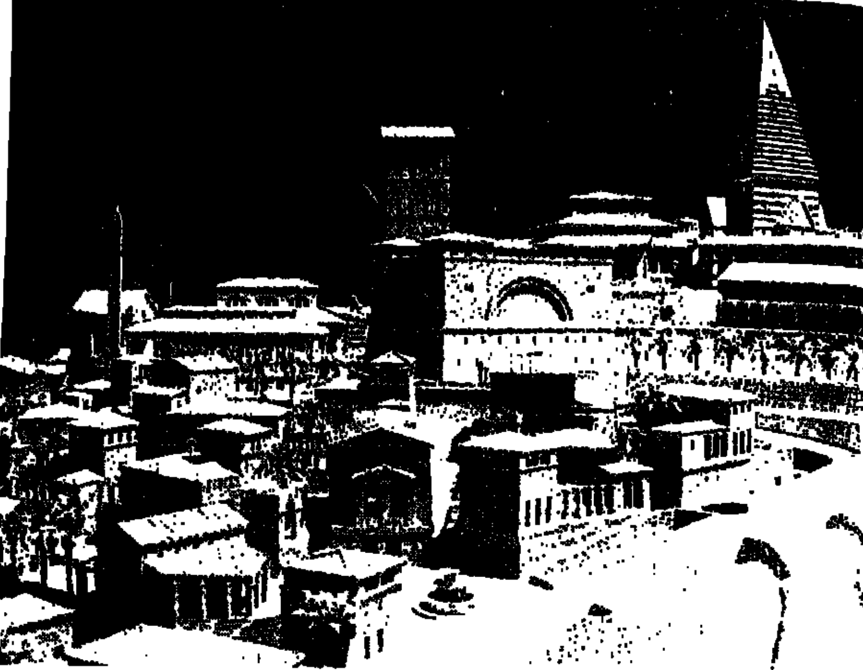
The lay-out of public buildings and square is of considerable significance for city life. A city is fortunate if there is a balance between private homes and public buildings — most old cities are still good examples of this.

There was a controversial debate as to whether West Berlin could be regarded as a model of the city of the future since no-one could define where the heart of the city lay.

The international building exhibition has been well received internationally with its two approaches, cautious city renewal and an exhibition of new architectural trends.

Manfred Ronzheimer

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 22 November 1987)



A gift for the year 2,000, or something else? Atlantis Project.

(Photo: Wolfgang Hen[illegible])

By golly golopolis, it's an Atlantis megalopolis

Art dealer Hans-Joachim Müller is an active promoter of the type of art known as "progressive".

He is also a sharp-tongued controversialist and big talker who cleverly knows how to sell his undoubted sense of mission and his idealism.

A few years ago he began peddling a spectacular new idea to the art world: his pitch was exhibitions and where the influential art patrons and dealers gathered.

His brainchild is called "Atlantis Project" and it is now being unveiled publicly. Müller says this is "an artistic initiative which serves experts as a model of hope."

Further, he says it is "a gift for the year 2000" to a world "which wants to renew itself at the turn of the century for reasons of self-preservation."

It is a utopian idea, naive and self-confident, and his messianic attitudes produce sceptism at first. His unworldly optimism must provoke mockery.

It is an immature vision full of contradictions whose financing is still way

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

up in the clouds. But he pushes ahead with tenacity.

What was once a publicity plan that he carried under his arm has now taken on a more tangible form in Stuttgart, where the project will be housed until it can be realised.

The premises are set up like an art gallery and are open normal office hours. Every publicity trick in the book is being used to get the "Atlantis Project" going.

Art is displayed and sold here, donations are accepted, contacts made and information distributed.

Müller cannot claim that he has a new gallery for this operation does not follow usual art gallery lines and has no art dealer ambitions. It concentrates exclusively on the "Atlantis Project" and how it can be financed.

Looked at superficially the "Atlantis" premises, housed on the fifth storey of a furniture warehouse in Stuttgart, create only an atmospheric setting for the project. This mental preparation is done in a rather irritating way.

The shabby stairwell and even the toilets have been given the intimate look of a boutique in blue, white and gold-leaf with tile and brick décor. It shows just how hopeless, purpose-built premises can be done up.

What is also astonishing is the confrontation and combination of modern art in the gallery rooms themselves.

There are typical works of contemporary art (Albers, Pfahlen, Lenk and Hauser) next to ancient works and exotic art from Black Africa and Asia.

This is all set in the midst of sophisticated office furniture of superior design that has been donated by various companies.

Only a very crafty dialectician can hope to recognise the effect, from a style and taste point of view, this conglomeration of museum and modern art has.

But that is not what matters to the promoters of the "Atlantis Project." What is imporant to them is the advertising value for the model in miniature of the city of "Atlantis," placed in a central position in the premises.

This is a "city" designed by architec[illegible] Léon Krier for the south-west moun[illegible]tains of Tenerife on a site that Mü[illegible] has already acquired.

The idea is obviously somethin[illegible] tween an academy after the *Ba[illegible]* model, an "artistic republic" an[illegible] ternational meeting place f[illegible] from many walks of life. [illegible]

Here artists of all kinds, ar[illegible], designers, politicians, sociologists, doctors, in fact "the best experts in the world," can get together in a creative, holiday atmosphere.

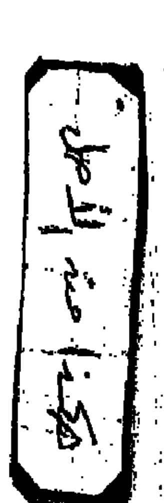
There will be no pressures. Under the best possible conditions, in studios and seminars they can produce ideas, think about them and pass them on.

They will be able to consider how they can help our ruined world, obsessed with profit, and how we can give the world at least a humane face.

Little objection can be taken to this praiseworthy goal and there is a manifesto available for all to read about it.

Who does not feel a sense of responsibility for the future? Who does not want to live free from anxiety, in a world where the quality of life is important, in a beautifully-formed world that is eco-

Continued on page 15



■ FILMS

Werner Herzog's latest: a Cobra that needs some venom

The eleven-year drought and the death of his mother has embittered Francisco Manoel da Silva. The exploited worker Francisco becomes the feared bandit Cobra Verde.

Powerful whites get him deported from Brazil to Africa because he had got a plantation owner's daughter pregnant, because no-one wanted to quarrel with him and because he had an impossible task to fulfill.

He had to get slaves in exchange for weapons, although for the past ten years no slaves had come from the distant kingdom and the mad king had had all whites killed.

But Cobra Verde is successful, at least in the short term. He gets slaves, overthrows the king with an army of Amazons and becomes deputy king himself.

That is the plot of Werner Herzog's *Cobra Verde.*

But it cannot be said that Herzog tells this tale. The narrative style is fragmentary, full of leaps in time.

Herzog presents mystifying indications and expects the audience to make a story out of them, which the audience is in no position to do.

In the first place when Herzog wants to indicate that Francisco is turning into a bandit it is done by hasty, brief visual episodes cut into each other.

These episodes show how Francisco toils away, how he is done out of his wages and how in the dark he wakes up his overseer before he kills him.

After that Herzog thinks he can direct *Cobra Verde* as if it were a Western. But when the bandit appears with his glassy eyes and a weapon everyone flees except for three pigs. This is more risibile than frightening, rather like a parady of a commercial.

Herzog has never been interested in narrative, particularly in a film starring Klaus Kinski, who plays Cobra Verde.

In *Aguirre, Fitzcarraldo* and even in *Nosferatu*, the title character was more important.

These films are about these characters' dreams and their attempts to realise these dreams and their failures. Then Herzog also has certain visual ideas in mind.

The one in *Fitzcarraldo* was to have the visual image of a ship being carried over mountains.

Cobra Verde also goes a long journey that is of no use to him. But here the similarities end.

Cobra Verde, unlike Aguirre, Fitzcarraldo or Nosferatu, is no Sisyphus character, no person who battles against enormous odds.

He lacks an aim, a dream. He does not live to do a certain deed. It is not a matter of life and death for him (nor for the audience).

From the very beginning Cobra Verde is, figuratively speaking bloated, notwithstanding that later he gobbles more.

The worst is that the bandit knows everything but does nothing. It is not Kinski's fault that in *Cobra Verde* only Kinski is recognisable. Kinski acts uninvolved and as a consequence obtrusively. The blame for the character's dilemma and the stiffness of the film is primarily because Herzog's hero has no story to tell. Then Herzog's visual effects are not very exciting not so much because of they are hackneyed but because Herzog's most beautiful subjects make no sense.

Star without a story . . . Kinski as Cobra Verde.

(Photo: Concorde Film)

Why was this film made at all? It was suggested on television in a report by Herzog himself about the making of the film that it was because Herzog was fascinated by Klaus Kinski.

He repeated almost compulsively that he had to show off the "world wonder Kinski" once more, for the fifth time in fact.

When Herzog says that, he acts either like Jesus who had to carry the cross for us or Peter Lorre in Fritz Lang's *M* when he explains why he killed the children.

In reports on the shooting of the film it was said that Herzog found dealing with the locals frustrating.

That can be believed — in the film the Amazons look into the camera, not out of curiosity (as in *Fitzcarraldo*) but out of pure calculation, perhaps to attract attention.

Herzog tastelessly lets crippled local people hobble and crawl through the landscape as symbolic figures. In this moment the film lost its disturbingly naivety and showed a contempt for mankind.

Cobra Verde is sadly a failed film. But the media is wrong to have pilloried it as it has.

There can be no talk of it having a "touch of Brecht" or of "epic qualities." *Cobra Verde* is neither a "visionary masterpiece" nor a "a sorry fascist effort."

Perhaps one of the characters in the film has defined the film's failure best. The character says that he fears only the day when he has nothing more to conquer. That day has arrrived for Werner Herzog.

Milan Pavlović

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 3 December 1987)

Then it came to an end — and the silence was golden

"I've waited for this moment for a long time," growled the police inspector and brutally handcuffed the bank robber, after catching him in the act.

The broad-shouldered outlaw stares contemptuously past the zealous, spiteful devil into the camera.

Then the film ends, a film within a film. It is entitled *No Way Out.*

The main role of the gentleman thief is played by former gang boss Philip Boran who, since he was released from prison five years before, has put his criminal talent into films.

There is cheering in the cinema. Five occasional thieves applaud the appearance of their previous leader.

"Your brother's terrific," one of them [illegible] to Pierre, the youngest of the [illegible]ious Boran brothers, "but our little [illegible]st as good."

[illegible]n slips out of the cinema. He is [illegible], ugly, asexual. He is the police inspector. He had waited for this moment for a long time. The film begins. It is called *Der Fall Boran* and is the cinema débute of Daniel Zuta.

Bernard Rud plays the main role as the previously convicted actor-crook.

He has just come from Amsterdam to see the première of his new film, which shows his brother in a bank robbery who is shot from behind.

Philip is suspected of having been involved. The police inspector knows the guilty men, but they do not interest him. Philip Boran is the one he is after.

The inspector's cat, twisted slippers and a picture of a dead colleague are waiting for him at home. The colleague was killed when the inspector first tried to arrest the Boran brothers.

In front of the cinema his assistant, Jean Pierre Léaud, is waiting for him. The fee for the French guest star was obviously only enough for a minor role.

With him Zuta tried, unsuccessfully, like his co-director colleague Thees Klahn, to get away from the wretched state of the latest German Film, from starchy dialogue and idiotic action.

Léaud, as the assistant sleuth, is conspicuously inconspicous. He has nothing much to say and limits himself to repeating a nervous tick, a manic stroke that Zuta makes him do.

Léaud plays the kind of detective that young film directors think they have seen in a Godard film.

But while Godard, with Léaud in the role of a disoriented inspector, would take a head on handed-down male images, Zuta indulges in clichés in a detached way.

The cast includes the inspector, his assistant, the dropout whose old misdeeds poison his new life.

Then to these can be added the director of the celebrated action film *No way out* (in jeans and zip-up jacket), the producer (in a white dinner jacket), who plays golf with the inspector's superiors and foils attempts to put the box-office success actor Philip Boran behind bars.



A film within a film in *Der Fall Boran.*

(Photo: Metropol Filmverleih)

Then there are the others: the woman journalist, blonde, sexy, rich from her good nose for sniffing out scandal for miles around, sometimes unscupulously on the inspector's side, sometimes childishly exhausted in the arms of the handsome Philip.

He said: "There is nothing and no-one she doesn't know."

"Every sensible person can differentiate reality from film," she lectures on the Boran case, "only men like you, who cannot let go of the dreams of their youth, muddle the two up. You can see this in your films."

The film must be Daniel Zuta's boyhood dream. You can see that from his film.

He himself has called it a blend of discarded poses and exhausted quotes, an homage to Hollywood's Bogart-type films and the gangster dramas of Jean-Pierre Melville.

Anyone with such admirers does not need enemies.

This film does not even go halfway to making the latest German Film bearable.

The former gang boss Philip Boran directs a bank raid in front of the camera in which his furious young friends, performing with him, stuff saving banks prospectuses into their pockets.

The inspector shoots the alleged bank robber without a warning, without investigation, revealing himself to be a murderer with a service weapon.

Boran dies in close-up, wipes off the theatrical blood, takes off the bullet-proof stuntman's vest and stares contemptuously past the zealous spiteful devil into the camera.

We have waited too long for this moment.

Heike Kühn

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 November 1987)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Long-term Chernobyl effects 'more serious than authorities let on'

The long-term effects of the Chernobyl disaster are likely to be more serious than the public has been led to believe, says a study by the University of Munich's Institute of Radio Biology.

The study has new scientific evidence based on measurements in areas of Bavaria which were among the parts of Germany worst affected by fallout from the stricken Soviet reactor.

The study says the radiation counts published by the authorities are inadequate and misleading. The mean values are arrived at by taking the average readings from large areas and populations disguise the fact that the absolute readings of many areas diverge radically from each other.

The institute took 22,000 measurements at 3,600 points on pasture land four kilometres away from each other.

It turned out that in several areas of southern and eastern Bavaria becquerel counts are higher than figures released by the Radiation Protection Commission and the Society for Radiation and Evironmental Research, and will probably continue to be so for many years.

The new data now forms the basis of a new map with improved resolution and representation of 16 zones with colour tones showing the intensity of the radiation. The map indicates that the top soil is still highly radio active in the districts of Berchtesgaden, southern Miesbach, northern Regensburg, South and West of Augsburg and in Zwiesel. The worst hit area of all is the Bavarian Forest.

Radio biologist Professor Edmund Lengfelder has another map which illustrates in blue tones the rainfall of 30 April 1986. It shows that the differences in dispersion of radioactivity is still attributable to Chernobyl and not to natural geological processes.

Radioactivity from those isotopes with short half lives has returned to normal. Only Caesium and Ruthen remain. The toxic effect of these isotopes on the environment will remain at the same level for a long time.

Mean values are not indicative of the actual levels which people in specific areas are exposed to, said Lengfelder. It is also pointless, he added, to list average bequerel counts taken from local districts — which the Bavarian environment Ministry recently did — or to compare Lower Saxony in the North with Bavaria in the South.

Munich University's results were presented to a conference in Regensburg organised in conjunction with the Federal Environment Ministry.

At the conference, Lengfelder voiced serious doubts about the official attitude that the long-term effects of the Chernobyl disaster would not lead to any recognisable effects on the public's health. He said that science is at present not in a position to make accurate predictions.

Take hot beta particles for example. Up till now comprehensive reports and attitudes as to the possible effects of Chernobyl have not taken into account the possible effects of beta dust particles.

It is now known that these particles have been inhaled by some groups of people and that imbalanced nutrition can increase this risk.

People with agricultural occupations are particularly at risk. The breathing in of dust from hay and cattle feed is unavoidable in certain areas of Bavaria. As a result of this there were proposals at the conference to recommend the wearing of safety breathing apparatus.

"It would have been more sensible to have made such recommendations a lot earlier, it's now too late," said Professor Lengfelder.

So far, there has been no official reaction to the new information from the Bavarian Interior and Environment Ministries.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 28 November 1987)



Radioactivity warning plan

A nationwide system to monitor radioactivity in the environment should go into operation at the end of 1989, says Arno Fricke, of the Lower Saxon Environment Ministry.

He told dairy experts in a speech at Hanover Technical University that between 30 and 50 meteorological stations between the island of Sylt in the North Sea to the Bavarian Alps in the south would be used.

In addition, civil defence is expanding its net to 2,000 posts to measure radioactivity in the ground. Thirty six more posts will monitor rivers and canals and the North and Baltic Seas.

Every two hours the Federal health authority in Munich will receive and publish data.

The *Länder* will have the responsibility of checking radioactivity in food, tobacco, drinking water, sewage, soil, plants and manure.

Lower Saxony now has an additional centre in Oldenburg which brings the number of centres to eight. Lower Saxony is working on how best to measure radioactivity.

But a radiation-protection law passed in 1986 means that in the event of an atomic accident only federal recommendations and yardsticks can be used.

Fricke said that individual *Länder* could apply more restrictive levels for small-scale accidents such as an overturned atomic transporter.

But large-scale ones which might affect the whole of Europe, require the *Land* to conform to Federal safety limits. This was the only way adequate action across the entire nation could be taken.

Professor Franz Roiner, who developed a process to decontaminate whey, told the meeting that with the same system even milk could be decontaminated. He has received requests from Austria, Japan and the Soviet Union.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 December 1987)

Lead plumbing danger to drinking water

The effects of lead on health became well known as the discussion about lead-free petrol got under way. But that is not the only source of danger. At a recent symposium of ASH — a hygiene and sanitation organisation — it was estimated that 15 percent of German households get their water from lead-lined plumbing.

How dangerous is lead in water? According to Dr Hermann Kruse, toxicologist at Kiel University, "even small quantities can be dangerous."

The World Health Organisation has recommended an acceptable daily intake of 430 micrograms. The West German authorities have derived their tolerance levels for nutrition, air and water from it. Their limit for water is 40 micrograms of lead per litre.

The overall daily intake from the air, water and nutrition is important to toxicologists. It's not just the lead intake which is measured, but also the resorption — the amount the body retains.

Experts believe that about 5 to 10 per cent of lead from water is retained. And according to an ASH study, up to 52 per cent by an empty stomach.

The lead level in blood is the crucial factor. The biological half life is from 19 to 30 days. Then the lead settles in the bones teeth and hair and stays for about 20 years.

But it's unlikely today that anyone would get acute lead poisoning from drinking water. But, as the ASH study shows, symptoms of chronic poisoning are common. Small children and babies face the greatest danger. The resorption rate for children is about 50 per cent higher than for adults.

The list of possible effects is long: heart problems, intellectual retardation, nervousness, paralysis, underdeveloped muscles, miscarriages, and fertility problems. The first signs of chronic poisoning are often sleeplessness, fatigue, dizziness and lack of appetite.

Investigations of German drinking habits have shown that the lead concentration in water is usually over the recommended

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40 micrograms. In one extreme case 4,000 micrograms was recorded. An analysis of water pipes in Bonn in 1985 came across the odd example of 6,000 micrograms.

Apart from the health dimension, lead also has legal, political and financial aspects to it.

"A 1985 judgement by the Berlin judiciary means that tenants have no claim to a replacement of lead pipes," said Frigga Döscher, lawyer and member of the board of the Berlin Tenants Association. There are no planning laws which forbid the installation of lead pipes for drinking water. There has not been much political response to the problem in Berlin.

Professor Heinrich Reisinger, member of parliament and chairman of the environment committee in the Mainz state assembly in the Rhineland-Palatinate said: "Old pipes will have to be replaced in turn as they become worn out."

So in the heel of the hunt we are left with the old saying that lead is harmful and with the same old advice to those concerned to take care of the problem themselves.

Thomas Geisen

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 21 November 1987)

■ CHILDREN

Social pressure a strong influence on the consumption of alcohol

'I drank alcohol for the first time when I was 10. My parents gave me a schnaps to warm me up. It was a strange feeling, but it was good."

That was how a Berlin schoolgirl described her first encounter with alcohol, and it was typical.

On average, most children in Berlin have their first alcoholic drink at the age of 11, and in almost half the cases, it is the parents who supply it. It is common to "feel funny but good."

A survey reveals that 49 per cent say drink makes them more imaginative and wittier; 31 per cent say it helps counter a bad atmosphere and feelings of depression; 23 per cent report more self confidence.

The survey was by the Free University of Berlin. More than 1,000 pupils regarded as average but from different suburbs and different types of school were questioned.

The survey's aim was not only to find out more about alcohol dependence — about which much is already known — but to discover the drinking habits of children who are regarded as normal.

The results show that, as a rule, most of these have had some experience with alcohol.

Not horrible

Only six per cent of 16-year-olds said they abstain; 32 per cent drink alcohol either daily or several times a week. Two thirds drink "relatively little" on each occasion. A quarter drink up to four glasses and 14 per cent five glasses or more.

Most are drunk for the first time at the age of 14 on average and the majority (84 per cent) did not find the experience horrible.

The survey was compiled by Gisela Jackson, of the university's social pedagogic and adult education department. She says it was important to take into account the influence of social background. The parents played an important part.

For example, when a father comes home after work frustrated, sits in front of the television with a beer and doesn't discuss with the family what is wrong, the children cannot gain a proper idea of how alcohol should be treated.

The clique, leisure activities and the school were also factors. In groups that drank relatively heavily, there were many who had problems at school or who spent their free time mostly passively.

All these influences could encourage consumption of alcohol; but not necessarily. The study could not, naturally enough, explain why some children try alcohol only once and others come back for more.

What do the children say when asked why they drink? "Because it tastes good," say 60 per cent.

But the study tried to examine deep-seated reasons for drinking. Frau Jacobsen said everybody, adults included, had learned to either hide or suppress the real reasons for drinking.

The aim of much drinking was to removed stress, worries, fears or inhibi-

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tions. But whoever admitted to drinking to solve problems sounded the alarm bells, and "we have all learned that that is something we're not allowed to do."

Despite the knowledge that, although alcohol is socially acceptable, it shouldn't be used to camouflage problems, 15 per cent of those polled admit that they either often or sometimes drink when they are angry or sad.

Another 14 per cent drink to relax, 18 per cent to defeat tedium and 19 per cent to make contact more easily with the opposite sex.

There are many reasons why children drink. They know how it will affect them in various situations. One boy aged 16 said he likes "the detonation in the head" and he doesn't find it bad to drink occasionally to forget problems.

Another says he finds everything easier after a few drinks, that he has few worries and can forget everything.

If drinking to forget is dangerous or might become dangerous is not revealed clearly. This is only revealed when someone is no longer able to control his or her life or begins to become conspicuous in a negative way. Medical limits are also little help here.

The maximum amount that can be tolerated varies, depending on sex and other factors, between 20 grams and 80 grams of pure alcohol a day. But a person who drinks a small amount every day can also become dependent if that amount becomes essential.

The study takes 30 grams a day as the danger limit — about the equivalent of two large glasses of beer. Ten per cent of those polled admit to drinking this much.

There is still dispute over whether it makes sense to measure risk levels in terms of grams. Elfriede Koller is an expert at a drugs prevention centre. He says that danger is connected with the candor of the individual person. "In our society, everyone has his drug and defends its use. It's only other people who are endangered."

He says this applies to all drugs, whether alcohol or the illegal drugs.

In his work to head off drug consumption, no distinction is made between drugs. Effort is directed towards a getting people away from the feeling that they need to anaesthetise themselves.

"Prevention means for me first to ignore the drug — we make the children the central point and try to help them realise their aspirations."

Help means, for example, advice about various problems which young people have to work out.

There are also things like cafes where no drugs are available and where people can meets others and have fun.

There are leisure activities so people can learn for themselves just what they can do.

"We try to develop critical attitudes but at the same time keep activities lively. We don't want to take drugs away from anybody.

We want to reach the point where people ask themselves if it really is necessary to have a beer to relax."

Koller said a possible success of the programme was that, according to another survey which dealt with the drug-taking habits of 13- to 25-year-olds, the age at which people start using all types of drugs has increased.

Frau Jacobsen hopes her study will activate practical steps against drug-taking.

She says that much more must be done earlier to prevent drug misuse. The entire family should be involved.

"We have the feeling that far too little is being done about alcohol. This amounts to a trivialisation of the number one drug."

Just how much the problem of alcohol consumption is really played down or if it for many people really is harmless, is a major point of dispute.

Alcohol is everywhere, easy to get and — not least because of good commercial reasons — won't be removed lightly. As long as use of alcohol remains controlled, the results might not be too serious.

But one finding in the Berlin survey is disturbing: half the respondents felt under pressure from their environment to drink. Rejection was often met with mockery or even aggression.

It might be an interesting exercise. Next time I'm at a party, I might even try rejecting a drink myself.

Annette Bässler

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 6 December 1987)

Suicide: is school the cause or merely the trigger?

About 14,000 people commit suicide each year in Germany. Many more try. Many victims are children, although the exact number is not known. A conference in Hamburg discussed the connection between pressure at school and suicide. One of the main speakers was Professor Reinhard Fatke, of Fribourg University in Switzerland. Gisela Kranefuss wrote the story for *Die Welt*.

Over the past 10 years, both suicides and attempts have increased by 50 per cent. The statistics do not reveal how many of the victims between 15 and 20 are schoolchildren.

A conference in Hamburg discussed the issue of suicide and school. Delegates included members of the Catholic Academy and staff member of Freiburg University.

Professor Fatke wanted to cast some light on a subject which was surrounded by a taboo. The reasons for schoolchildren suicides and attempted suicides were things that revulsed people and made them want to sweep the subject under the carpet.

This attitude went so far that sometimes parents were even refused access to the school notes of their deceased children.

Fatke referred to a survey in Münster in which 1,200 pupils said they could see no sense in school. Only 33 per cent of those questioned approved of Abitur (university entrance examination).

Professor Fatke said: "Often, feelings of helplessness and cynicism break out. Even those who adjust can suddenly develop feelings of aggression against both themselves and against others.

"Pupils develop a great arsenal of tactics to avoid the unreasonable demands of school or to take countering action." Alcohol, cigarettes, drugs and gambling were part of this arsenal.

Feelings of despair about school were described in suicide letters left by children. He said suicide is a cry for help. So it was necessary for sociologists, educationalists and psychologists to remove the taboo from the subject.

"We must find out if school is the cause or the trigger of the act," he said.

Schools must not be allowed to trivialise the problem and dismiss the problem by classifying children who had killed or tried to kill themselves as "deeply depressed; broken family."

School must be turned into a meaningful field of experience. Mental work and handwork should receive equal consideration and the outside world should be taken into account.

Educationalist Ludwig Gurlitt described the problem in 1908: "If youth does not find life with good doses of recklessness and irrepressible joie de vivre, it will seek death not as individuals but in groups."

Gisela Kranefuss

(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 November 1987)

■ THE MEDIA

Feminist magazine anti-porn campaign backfires

A feminist magazine's campaign against pornography appears partly to have misfired. The November edition of *Emma* carried some pornographic photographs in a feature article. Now some distributors and booksellers have decided to boycott the edition after two Munich lawyers claimed that they could be prosecuted for distributing it. Claudia Meyer reports for *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*.

The only feminist magazine in Germany, *Emma*, has gone on attack against pornography and sexism.

"We want to give the pornographers a good hiding," said Judith Rauch, one of the magazine's editors.

Emma publisher Alice Schwarzer and her colleagues in Cologne, however, have got a chilly wind blowing in their own direction.

This time it's not the public prosecutors who are causing problems, but two lawyers from Bavaria who have made a name for themselves as counsels for the defence in pornography court cases.

These two lawyers have called upon wholesalers and magazine kiosks to boycott the November issue of *Emma*, claiming that it is covered by the provisions of the distribution ban specified in section 184, paragraph 3, of the Criminal Code.

If this is true, anyone who sells the magazine is guilty of distributing pornographic material.

Indeed, there is plenty of hardcore-category pornography inside the magazine although there is a harmless picture on the cover.

The blunt photos illustrating a depressing pornography report by Cornelia Filter were taken from popular sex magazines.

Judith Rauch dismissed suspicions that Countess Dönhoff, who is publisher of the weekly newspaper, *Die Zeit*, was chosen as the cover photo to camouflage the contents.

The combination of the Dönhoff cover picture and the pornography story were for other reasons.

But there were plenty of arguments between *Emma* editors over the disputed illustrations.

The final word was spoken by Alice Schwarzer, who said that "if we want to get an anti-pornography campaign off the ground we must also show the women affected most."

The response of the *Emma* readers was mixed.

Although the 70 letters sent in so far expressed an unqualified approval, many readers found the pictures "shocking, disgusting and superfluous".

Other regular *Emma* readers, however, were unable to form their own opinion on the matter as they didn't even receive their copy of the magazine.

This was the result of the boycott called for in Munich, which then affected circulation in the entire Federal Republic.

The official distributors of the magazine, the Wiesbaden-based *Verlagsunion*, (which also distributes the sex magazine *Frivol* along with *Emma* and other magazines) also joined in the boycott.

Emma editors still don't know how great the losses will be as a result of the boycott campaign, since the November edition (*printed circulation figure: 75,000*) is still sold until the December edition is published.

Some wholesalers informed *Emma* readers that they had thrown their batch of November issues into the shredder.

Some magazine kiosks did not even display the magazine, whereas others sold it under the counter — a fact which the *Emma* editors found particularly amusing.

There are hopes that the increased demand triggered by the publicity surrounding this particular issue may offset possible financial losses.

Many bookshops ignored calls for a boycott and alternative sales networks (in pubs etc.) were also set up.

The magazine's editors made sure before they the November issue came on to the market that they need not fear legal implications.

As the pornographic illustrations are shown with a clear documentary context there are no grounds for legal action by public prosecutors.

Emma took advantage of a common interpretation of the law through which popular girly and men's magazines also make sure that no legal action can be taken against their pornographic photos.

However, the fact that *Emma* exploits a legal loophole which it criticises when used by others doesn't bother the magazine's editors.

Rauch feels that "lawyers must realise in the case of such publications that the argument of a different context is merely a pretext."

Why, nine years after its legally unsuccessful court case against the sexist cover pictures of the *Stern* magazine, has *Emma* launched a second major anti-pornography campaign?

Rauch lists three main reasons:

Nothing was left of the change in awareness triggered by the *Stern* trial (even the judge described the intentions of the campaigners, who were backed by prominent public personalities, as "worth supporting").

"The *Stern* cover pages today were "just as sexist and insulting to women as they ever were."

There was a new quality to sexism today. Magazines such as *Wiener* or *Tem-*

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Woman MP's nude-drawing claim rejected

A claim for damages against a various magazine by Petra Kelly, a senior member of the Greens and an MP in the Bonn Bundestag, has been rejected.

Kelly objected to a *VIP* calendar published in 1985 which portrayed her in caricature form standing at a saloon bar wearing only cowboy boots and carrying two revolvers.

Weighing up the arguments in favour of the freedom of artistic expression and those in favour of the legal protection of an individual's personal rights, a Berlin court decided that the depicted nudity of a prominent contemporary personality is not in itself serious enough to warrant the payment of damages.

The judges' decision took as its yardstick a decision by the Federal Constitutional Court to award damages to Bavaria's Premier Franz Josef Strauss after he was caricatured as a "sexually active pig".

As opposed to the caricature of Frau Kelly, however, the Strauss caricature disparaged the dignity of a politician.

Frau Kelly's lawyer, on the other hand, argues that such a primitive picture in a sex magazine, which merely used cheap tricks to attract more customers, has a degrading effect.

The calendar, with a circulation of 3,000 copies, was sent to all Bundestag MPs as a present.

Apart from the picture of Frau Kelly, the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, was shown in sports dress and Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner with a ribbon in his hair and lip-stick.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 20 November 1987)

Paper hit painful blow over naked-man photo

A 37-year-old man whose photograph in a newspaper made him appear naked has been awarded a pension for life.

The strident Springer daily, *Bild Zeitung*, ran the photograph of the man, who was lying between naked women in Munich's Englischer Garten, on the front page under the headline: Naked Man in the Englischer Garten.

The man was recognisable but the photograph made it look as though he was not wearing swimming trunks.

The court accepted that the man, an engineer, lost chances of promotion because of the photo.

It ruled that Springer Verlag must pay him a lump sum of DM 16,855 plus DM 793 a month until the end of March next year; then DM1,114 a month until March 1989; and then DM 1,452 a month. Springer is to appeal. *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 8 December 1987)

Impartiality and money: a fine line

Journalists are offered all sorts of inducements from politicians and business lobbies wanting to curry influence. Airline tickets, hotel accommodation are not uncommon.

A series of lectures arranged by Berlin's Free University on Journalism and Ethics even heard from one journalist (Jonathan Carr, of *The Economist*, London) how he was offered shares.

Peter Voss, an editor from the West German TV network ZDF, said that there is no harm in accepting an invitation in individual cases in connection with professional activities.

He accepted a visit to Israel financed by the Israeli government. He would not have been able to pay for the trip himself.

His freedom of movement was in no way restricted. Journalists had the opportunity to talk to PLO representatives.

An invitation by the South African government, on the other hand, must be treated differently; in such cases, Voss said, the ZDF would not allow its journalists to accept.

Deborah Seward, of the US magazine *Newsweek*, emphasised that journalists should always reject trips offered by political bodies in order to ensure the independence of reporting.

Joachim Bölke, of *Der Tagesspiegel*, said: "The greater the restraint, the better." He said chequebook journalism, the buying of information with huge sums of money, was unacceptable.

Voss said business in information, such as WDR's buying for DM300,000 of the Moscow trial broadcasting rights of pilot Mathias Rust, is regarded was "problematic".

But it would be unreal and dishonest generally to condemn business transactions of information. There could be no complete solution.

Seward pointed out the danger to the freedom of the press if information could only be acquired through money.

Even during her activities in Poland, she said, informants asked her how much she would pay.

The British journalist Jonathan Carr claimed that he would not have published the photograph taken by the magazine *Stern* of the corpse of former Schleswig-Holstein Premier Uwe Barschel lying in the bath of his Geneva hotel room.

The publication, said Carr, was in extremely bad taste.

Nevertheless, decisions must be made on a case-by-case basis; the pictures of the victims of the Vietnam War, for example, should be shown.

Peter Voss explained that he had given his approval for the screening of the Barschel photo "without a clear conscience".

"As the picture was already on the market," Voss said, "we would not have been able to prevent publication anyway."

Joachim Bölke took the view that the circumstances under which the photo was taken were of ethical significance, not the publication of the photo itself.

A journalist is not a policeman, he said, and thus has no right to alter anything at the scene of a crime.

A further topic dealt with during the series of discussions was "Ethical Standards of Journalism in Western Democracies".

An audience of roughly 1,000 people listened to the pros and cons of party affiliation of media representatives.

Peter Voss admitted that influence was exerted by the ZDF supervisory bodies on appointments in top positions and that the decision was taken in accordance with political criteria.

However, Voss said, the professional quality of the applicants was the decisive factor.

Being a member of a political party, Voss claimed, does not necessarily limit a journalist's independence, since "an editor's heart beats for a certain grouping" whether he is an official party member of not.

There is no sense in calling for political abstinence, said Voss.

Joachim Bölke, on the other hand, maintained that a journalist committed to a certain political party is restricted by the corresponding expectations.

Party members should not assume top positions, he stressed, since journalists are above all responsible to the reader, who demands independence.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 20 November 1987)

■ HORIZONS

Window, window in the wall, who's the laziest of us all? Men are

A women's magazine survey reveals the unsurprising news that 92 per cent of men who live with a woman don't do any housework.

The survey, in *Brigitte*, showed that 84 per cent never do ironing, 79 per cent never do washing, 73 per cent never clean windows and 64 per cent never clean the bath.

Now eight women from the Mother's Centre in Langen in the state of Hesse have devised a housework course for men, the first of its kind so far in this country.

Plans are on the way to make it easier for men nationwide to join in the fight against dirt and dust. Whether the men will take to this is open to question.

Five men turned up for the first evening course in Langen — they included 11 reporters.

First they learned some theory and then they all grabbed sponges from a bucket and applied their know-how to cleaning a window.

"Instead of rubbing diagonally and unsystematically across the pane a more efficient method involving less effort should be selected. The best method is a snaky line from top to bottom," the course participants were told. Sketches illustrated the process.

The reporters, generally speaking, reported favourably on the course with

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the result that more men showed interest.

The course fee is DM50 for four sessions, each 90 minutes long. Participants systematically learn how to clean the lavatory, do the washing, iron shirts, brighten up carpets, sew on buttons and so on.

The men came from all walks of life: a management expert, a teacher, a company staff man and a pensioner. They were aged between 25 and 65.

Margrit Jansen from the Mothers Centre said, "we want to put the spotlight on men and housework and support women in the daily, nerve-racking skirmishes with their partners at the sink."

One aim has already been achieved. Seven radio stations, including two commercial stations, have reported on the course.

The courses are only for men and that is intentional. Man regularly complain that they do not help because they do not do the jobs well enough for their wives.

This is true. Women regard housework as their very own domaine and they don't want men intruding.

One male said: "That attitude kills off any enthusiasm you might have"

Brigitte Holz-Reul, a Bonn expert on domestic science, has discovered just how far cleaning, scrubbing and sewing is reserved to the female sex.

She said: "We spoke to women in detail, pointing out that their reluctance to surrender any of the housework did not make it easy for men to offer to help."

There are plenty of men in the housework courses set up by the Bonn family training unit. The courses encourage men and women to take part. The slogan is: "Everything for the family — from managing the household budget to sharing the work."

Bert Müller from Bonn is 32, married with two children. He is glad that he has attended the courses.

He and his wife Monika got the impression after their marriage that the housework was never-ending, although they constantly did house chores.

They both came to the conclusion that the situation had to be organised differently.

He said: "My attitude to housework changed and I am much more rational about it and consequently faster."

What do his colleagues say about this? Bert Müller was interviewed on the radio about his participation in the housework course. The response from his colleagues the next day was "shattering." He did not want to say what was said through — out of loyalty.

If men were more cooperative in the housework and cooking it would be easier for many women to go out to work. This has been well known for a long time, but it is constantly coming up in Bonn political circles.

Recently SPD Bundestag member Renate Schmidt said, at a conference on "Career and the family — a long term conflict for women," that there was a lot to be desire in the men's readiness to take over some of the responsibility and work for the household and the family.

No-one disputed that women had done a lot for their own emancipation. They were better trained and had done well academically, but still they cannot get jobs.

Renate Schmidt said: "Seen from this viewpoint the future chances of being able to push ahead with semi-emancipation are bleak, the alignment of women with men. Instead of that, however, we can begin with emancipation for both sexes," which means more "feminine qualities for men."

Her demands include obligatory training in household managment for both sexes in all types of school.

Men who do not want to learn "cooking, cleaning and multiplication tables" in public can now do learn in seclusion and be instructed by a man.

American Don Aslett advices in his book *Putzen mit Köpfchen*, published by Cadmos Verlag, exactly how to organise "enterprise household" and so save time and money.

Aslett sees the major problem the fact that men and children create 90 per cent of the work that is done by 90 per cent of the women. He was speaking for America but this is also true for West Germany.

He has devoted a whole chapter in his book to "What is expected from husband and children?" Put succinctly the answer is: dirt, untidiness and filth.

He gives women a number of tips they can use to get some help from their loved ones.

The summit of his advice is that the wife should disappear for a few days or pretend to be sick, if her husband totally refuses to help.

Barbara Frandsen

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 6 December 1987)

Continued from page 14

po, for example, combined pornography and violence in line with the motto: "They're not content to just undress us, now they have to strip off our skin too."

During her visit to the USA, Schwarzer met America's most prominent anti-pornography campaigner, Andrea Dworkin, whose book (published in 1981) has become *the* theoretical basis for the pornography discussion and was published in German for the first time by the *Emma* publishing house in November under the title *Pornographie — Männer beherrschen Frauen* (Pornography — Men Dominate Women).

The aim of the campaign is to create a new awareness among women.

"Women must realise that pornography is an instrument of male domination," Rauch explained.

On behalf of the magazine jurists have drawn up a bill to try to introduce a civil law provision describing pornography as a humiliation of women.

Each individual woman and not just the public prosecutor would then be able to take legal action.

The draft bill also envisages a *Verbandsklage*, legal action by an association, to enable powerful organisations to go to court on behalf of all women to ask for an injunction or claim compensation.

Aren't the *Emma* editors worried that they might get support from the wrong side?

After all, some of the most prominent anti-pornography campaigners in the United States are also anti-abortionists.

Rauch: "In our case we welcome as broad a consensus as possible. And by the way: men can join us in our campaign against pornography."

Claudia Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 25 November 1987)

Solar power

Continued from page 9

20 cells, protected on both sides by impact-resistant glass covering and robust frames, can supply an average of ten ampere hours of electricity per day throughout the whole year in countries with plenty of sunshine.

This is enough to operate a black-and-white TV set and a small fluorescent lamp for up to three hours each day.

Via the new production line these modules will be manufactured on a fully-automated basis, including the cutting of the cells, the surface treatment, the sorting out of the cells in output groups, the application of the electrodes, the embedding between the glass disks and the weatherproof framing.

Larger power packs can than be pieced together from individual modules.

The necessary control electronics can also be supplied up to a plant size of 1,000 watts.

Peter Bensberg

(Die Welt, Bonn, 8 December 1987)

Golopolis

Continued from page 10

logically clean, despite MacDonald mass culture?

The enthusiasm of the "foundation society" around Hans-Joachim Müller and his wife not only has to pit itself against financial and economic resistance.

Müller is confident that one day a sponsor or sponsors, one of the 132 millionaires in the world that he has contacted, will ring him up about this project whose costs will run into millions, even billions.

But even if one did ring this enterprise, the function of this world-improvement operation, would not be assured.

Would it be possible, in this holiday paradise of all places, to set up successfully a leisure-time academy that would achieve "intellectual change," about which not only politicians of every shade would be enthusiastic, to reconstruct an integral, pre-industrial ideal community that our ideas of progress and affluence have trampled on without consideration?

The architect is also bound to come in for much criticism. His utopian concept involves a small Athens in the Atlantic, overlooked by an acropolis after a Greco-Roman design with a touch of the renaissance. (In January next year the project goes from Frankfurt on a world tour.)

It is, nevertheless, a pleasant dream, that still has to prove its attraction and that has to develop its own dynamism before anything serious can come of it.

Müller, who knows something about marketing, places a lot of importance on the prestige of being mixed up in the project.

The Spanish government has looked upon it with goodwill, and in Germany the number of people interested is growing, people who would like to make the impossible possible.

The people apparently interested in the project include *Der Spiegel* publisher Rudolf Augstein, pianist and organiser of the Schleswig-Holstein festival Justus Frantz and prominent publishers, industrialists and politicians.

The "Atlantis Project" must be on the look out for intellectual champions, even though Müller does not underestimate the danger that he could be dismissed as a screwball.

The more he holds himself back and remains in the background, the wider its basis, the greater the chances that the hybrid project for a meditation circle for Müller fans in the Canary Islands will expand.

If the project can be discussed and criticised, if it remains sufficiently open and so capable of development and puts itself under question, if it shows itself capable of agreement, then this curious model, that currently only fulfills the purpose of a decoy, could possibly grow to urban dimensions.

But this concept of an alternative city should display more than a nostalgic backward look to "classical" times. It should give a clear perspective into the year 2000.

We, those of us who will see in the new century, will be against such unwieldy, immobile "gifts" that oblige us to swallow the tastes of the givers.

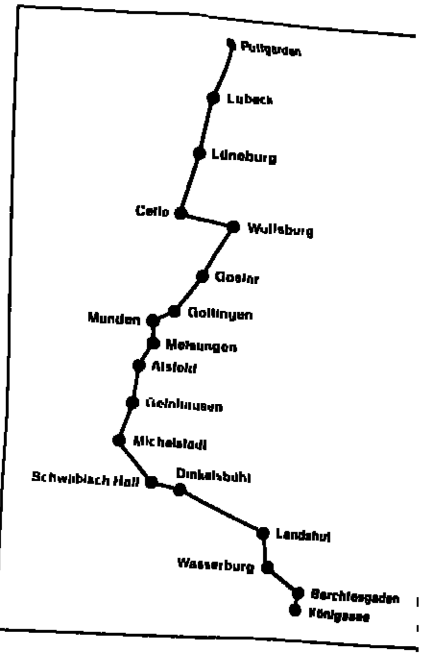
But the idea of making our surroundings more bearable and recultivating our lives with the help of many people of goodwill is welcome, even if it has to be under palm trees.

Wolfgang Rainer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 November 1987)

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